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U. N. GHOSHAL

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Sir Marc Aurel Stein
(1862-1943)

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VOL. XI

JANUARY, 1944

No. 1

Sir M. A. Stein

BY DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

Marc Aurel Stein was born at Budapest, Hungary, on the 26th of November 1862. He was a son of M. Nicholas and Anna Stein. Nicholas Stein, who was a merchant in Zombar and Budapest, had his son educated in his early years in the public schools of Budapest and Dresden. After finishing his early education, young Marc Aurel joined the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig and Tübingen, where he studied during the years 1879-85, the classical languages and antiquities of India and Iran. He was a pupil of Professor Johann Georg Bühler among other well known Orientalists in Germany at the time. After taking his Doctorate of Philosophy in 1883, he came to England and carried on research work at Oxford and London on old Persian philosophy and early Indian history during the years 1885-87. Later he carried on further researches in Oriental languages before coming to India in 1888 when he was appointed both the Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore and the Registrar of the Panjab University, which combined post he held for eleven years, up to 1899. It was during this period that Stein visited the valley of Kashmir with a view to obtain possession of the valuable Codex Archetipus of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, a chronicle of the rulers of Kashmir written by the Kashmirian Pandit Kalhaṇa in 1148. This valuable manuscript, which was undoubtedly copied in the latter half of the seventeenth century by the Kashmirian scholar Ratna Kaṇṭha, formed the basis of Stein's accredited edition of this most valuable work. This particular manuscript also contained marginal notes on the details of the topography of Kashmir in addition to various readings and corrections made by four different hands. He was not, however, satisfied with producing the first trustworthy edition of this work, but later on published,

in two volumes, a translation of the whole work in addition to a very critical study of the chronology of the rulers of Kashmir and detailed notes on the text as well as the topography of the valley of Kashmir, in the study of which the marginal notes in his manuscript as well as his repeated visits to Kashmir in the course of several years were a very valuable help.

While at Lahore, in January 1898, Stein undertook an archaeological tour with the Buner Field Forces under the command of General Blood and explored the archaeological sites in the Buner area which formed a part of the ancient country of Udyāna. During one of his visits to Kashmir, Stein also catalogued 5000 Sanskrit manuscripts in the Raghunātha temple library at Jammu. In 1899, he joined the Indian Educational Service and went to Calcutta as the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa. Soon after his appointment to Government service, he proceeded in 1901 on a year's journey in connection with his first long exploration tour in Chinese Turkestan on which part of Central Asia the eyes of all the archaeological students of the world were focussed at the time. The discovery of a very important birch-bark manuscript in the neighbourhood of Kucha, which came into the possession of Col. Bower when he was in Kucha, and which subsequently found its way to India, had already created a sensation among the Indologists, as this happened to be the earliest manuscript (4th century A.D.) written in an Indian script and language discovered up to that time. The earliest manuscript known before this discovery formed the isolated palm-leaves, which found their way to Japan through China and are now preserved in the Horiuji monastery in Japan. Besides this, there was a discovery in Khotan of another birch-bark manuscript written in Kharoṣṭhī characters and Indian languages, which was discovered by a French Mission sent to Tibet in 1892 under the leadership of Dutreuil de Rhins. Stein's exploration on this occasion was confined to the southern portion of Chinese Turkestan, mostly in the province of Khotan and the results of this expedition were incorporated in his two volumes of *Ancient Khotan* published at Oxford in 1907. He discovered here among other objects of antiquarian interest, hundreds of documents in Indian, Chinese and Tibetan scripts and languages which have thrown quite a new light on the civilization, prominently Indian, which flourished in ancient Turkestan from the third or fourth century to the 9th century of the Christian era. The International Archaeological Congress held in 1902 at Paris recognised the importance of Stein's expedition and this led to the foundation of a series of subsequent exploration by German, Russian and French Scholars. In 1901-02 Stein was awarded the Back

grant by the Royal Geographical Society for his geographical exploration in the Eastern portion of Lob-nor and the Kuen-luen range. In 1902 he was appointed Inspector of Schools in the Panjab and was deputed to England for the purpose of studying the scientific results of the journey undertaken on behalf of the Geographical Society and a personal narrative of this journey appeared in 1903. On his return to India in 1904, he was appointed the Inspector General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan. While holding this post Stein explored many historical and important sites located in inaccessible places across the Frontier including the most interesting site of Mahaban.

In 1906 Sir Aurel undertook, under the orders of the Government of India, his second Central Asian expedition. On this occasion he went further to the East, to Khotan, and from there right up to the Northern extremity across the Taklamakan desert. During this expedition he particularly studied the topography of the ancient routes between India and Western Asia and the Far East. The most important discovery of this exploration was made by Stein in the district of Tun-huang. Here he found the western portion of the famous Chinese wall which was built in ancient times as a defence against the invasion of the Huns. But the most astounding discovery made by him was a series of artificial caves containing about 500 cells of various dimensions, which are popularly known to-day as the caves of the Thousand Buddhas. One of these caves which was found walled up, was opened by chance in 1900. There was found a big collection of manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk which had been hidden away in the eleventh century together with other relics and kept safe from the hands of enemies till chance discovery brought them to light once again. The manuscripts were examined and collected partly by Sir Aurel Stein and partly by M. Pelliot, the French Sinologist, who visited Turkestan in 1906-8, the rest being taken to Peking under orders of the Chinese Government. Results of this exploration have been embodied by Sir Aurel in the five magnificent volumes of *Serindia* published in 1921.

In order to undertake more detailed explorations of the sites already casually visited or altogether left out during his expedition of 1906, and also with a view to extend his explorations further to the East and North, Sir Aurel undertook a third expedition to Central Asia in the summer of 1913. On this occasion he started from the south and proceeded eastward as far as Kan-chou, visiting on his way the sites of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood of Khotan, Niya and Tun-huang. He then crossed the desert of Pei Shan from

south-east to north-west, and on his way to Kashgar examined the sites of Idikut Shahri, the ancient capital of Turfan in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D., and also Lou-lan, Kucha, Akshu, among other similar sites, which were already visited but not carefully examined by German scholars. In July 1915 his journey led him across the Russian Pamirs and the mountains to the north of the Oxus and on his return journey to India he visited Samarkand, Khorasan and a portion of Seistan, the ancient Śakasthāna or the land of the Śakas. In this last-mentioned place he discovered on a rocky hill, the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first of its kind traced in Iranian soil. Here, behind later masonry, he found fresco-paintings of a later period and also some wall paintings in Hellenistic style. The details of this expedition have already appeared in the four volumes of *Innermost Asia* published in 1928 which is the last monumental work of Sir Aurel on his Central Asian expeditions. Before Sir Aurel undertook his third Central Asian tour, his services were transferred to the Archaeological Survey in 1910. After joining the Archaeological Department till his retirement in 1929, he was actively connected with various expeditions which he undertook on behalf of the Department not only in Central Asia and Persia as mentioned above, but also in other countries in the neighbourhood of India, which were at one time or the other the seat of Indian culture. But his zeal for exploration did not cease with his retirement. On the other hand, he spent all his spare time in visiting some part of the country or other and on many occasions at his own expense. Between the years 1926-28 when he was still in the Department, he had undertaken exploration tours in Upper Swat, Baluchistan and Makran, and later on in 1932-33 in South Persia and in 1935-36 in Western Iran. In response to his valuable services in exploration, honours were showered on him by various learned societies in Europe. He was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1909 and also the Petrie Medal in 1928. He was the recipient of the Royal Asiatic Society's Gold Medal in 1932, Huxley Medal in 1934 and the Gold Medal of the Society of Antiquaries in 1935. In 1910 the British Government conferred the title of C. I. E. on him and two years later he was made a K. C. I. E.

Even during the last few years of his life Sir Aurel was as actively engaged in exploration tours as he was during his early years. A few years ago he had another journey from the coast of the Arabian Sea up to the hill ranges of the north-east extremity of Makran. In 1941 and 1942 when he was in his eightieth year, he carried out an exploration tour along the dry-bed of the Ghaggar or Hakra, the

ancient river Sarasvatī of the Vedic texts, in the deserts of Bikaner and Bahawalpur States. In course of this tour he traversed a distance of nearly 300 miles and discovered a large number of new sites dating from the chalcolithic to the Kushan period. From careful topographical observations Sir Aurel was able to trace another dry bed of a river, which was once a branch of the Sutlej which joined the bed of Hakra a little above the Fort Abbas near the border of Bahawalpur State. As traces of chalcolithic sites were found only below this junction, Sir Aurel was of opinion that the prehistoric occupation had been abandoned when this branch of the Sutlej which carried abundant water from the great snow-fed river to the Ghaggar had ceased to flow towards the close of the chalcolithic period. These researches have a direct bearing also on the problem of desiccation in Asia which has its wider interest for students of both history and geography. In addition to this important exploration, Sir Aurel undertook several shorter ones in the Gilgit area where he found a number of Buddhist sites containing inscriptions and figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas carved on rocks and also several important inscriptions which for the first time showed that this part was under a branch of the ancient Shahi rulers of Kabul. All his researches in this connection were to be published in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* and though he had submitted part of his manuscripts for publication, its printing had to be stopped as a measure of paper economy and he could not live to see these volumes through the press. It is hoped that the Archaeological Department will be in a position to issue them as soon as conditions become more favourable. He did not also live to see another of his monumental works—his portfolio on the mural paintings in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum which is already in an advanced stage of printing. From the time when Sir Aurel was a comparatively young man it was his ambition to do some sound Archaeological work in Afghanistan. This chance at last came to him, but fate decided otherwise. In a letter to Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham which he wrote from Srinagar and an extract from which has recently been published in the *Geographical Journal*, Sir Aurel wrote: "I am just about to start for a preliminary visit to Kabul, in the hope of securing the chance desired since my boyhood for work in Ariana Antiqua. Approval from New Delhi has been received for this fresh attempt, initiated by a Harvard friend, now U. S. minister at Kabul. How it will succeed the gods of Kapisa might know." But alas the gods of Kapisa desired otherwise! They apparently did not want to part with a scholar whose ambition was to visit them for years, once he

was in their territory. On the 26th of October 1943 he passed away peacefully in the house of Mr. Cornelius van H. Engert and was buried in the Christian Cemetery at Kabul on October 29.

Sir Aurel Stein could talk Persian, Pushto, Kashmiri and Sanskrit with equal fluency and made friends wherever he went, be it in the biggest society of the civilized world or among the half civilized natives of Central Asia or the frontier of India. With him passes a man who adopted archaeology as a vocation and not a profession and his life was so full of it that he preferred to remain a bachelor all his life. Nor did he, in his death, forsake his favourite archaeology for he left all that he possessed in the furtherance of its cause.

A List of Principal Publications of Sir Marc Aurel Stein

1. *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangīṇī*—Translated with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices. Vols. 1-11. 1900.
2. *Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archaeological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, London, 1901.
3. *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan*—Personal narrative of a Journey of archaeological and geographical exploration in Chinese Turkestan, 1903.
4. *Ancient Khotan*—Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan, Vols. 1—II Oxford, 1907.
5. *Ruins of Desert Cathay*—Personal narrative of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China. With illustrations etc. Vols. I & II, London, 1912.
6. *Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia*, 1913-16. 1917.
7. *Serindia*, being a detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, carried out and described under the orders of H.M.'s Indian Government. 5 volumes, Oxford 1921.
8. *The Thousand Buddhas*, being a description of ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave temples of Tun-Huang on the Western Frontier of China, with an introductory essay by Laurence Binyon. 2 vols. Text and Plates. 1921.
9. *Memoir on maps of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu*, from the surveys made during Sir Aurel Stein's explorations 1900-1901, 1906-1908, 1913-15, with appendices by Major K. Mason and Dr. J. De Graff Hunter. Vols. I and II. Text and Maps. Dehra Dun. 1923.
10. *Innermost Asia*—Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran. Vols. I-IV. Oxford, 1928.
11. *Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan*. 1929 (*Memoirs*, A.S.I. No. 37).

12. *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts.* 1930 (Memoirs, A.S.I. No. 42).
13. *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia.* 1931 (Memoirs, A.S.I. No. 43).
14. *Old Routes of Western Iran,* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1940).
15. *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kabul,* Stuttgart, 1893.
16. *Detailed Report on an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force,* 1898. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII).
17. Notes on New Inscriptions discovered by Major Deane (Reprint from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, Pt. I, No. 1, 1898),
18. *Report of the Archaeological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the period from January 2nd 1904 to March 31st 1905.* 1905 & 1911-12.
19. *Mountain Panoramas from the Pamirs and Kwen Lun,* London, 1908.
20. *Explorations in Central Asia 1906-8.* (Reprint from *Geographical Journal* for July and September 1909),
21. *Expedition in Central Asia, 1915* (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, October 1915).
22. *Desert crossing of Heuan-Tsang 630 A.D.* 1919 (Reprint from *Geographical Journal* for November 1919; also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 4).
23. *Marco Polo's Account of a Mongol inroad into Kashmir,* 1919. (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal* for Aug. 1919).
24. *Explorations in the Lop Desert.* (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal* for Jan. 1920).
25. *Hatim's Tales—Kashmiri stories and songs recorded with the assistance of Pandit Govind Kaul by Sir Aurel Stein.* 1923.
26. *Innermost Asia—Its Geography as a Factor in History* (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal* for May and June 1925).
27. *Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier* (Reprint from *Geographical Journal* for Nov. and December 1927).
28. *On Alexander's Track to the Indus—Personal Narrative of Explorations on the North-West Frontier of India.* 1929.
29. *On Ancient Central Asian tracks,* London, 1933.
30. *A Survey of Ancient sites along the "lost" Sarasvati River* (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCIX, No. 4, April 1942).
31. *On Alexander's route into Gedrosia : An Archaeological tour in Las Bela* (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. CII, Nos. 5,6, Nov.-Dec. 1943).

32. *Old routes of Western Iran*. Narrative of an Archaeological journey carried out and recorded, antiquities examined, described and illustrated with the assistance of Fred. H. Andrews, London, 1940.
33. An archaeological tour in Ancient Persia (Reprint from *Iraq*, Vol. III, No. 2).
34. Notes on Alexander's crossing of the Tigris and the Battle of Arbela (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. C, No. 4 Oct. 1942).
35. Surveys on the Roman Frontier in Iraq and Trans-Jordan (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCV, No. 6 June 1940).
36. Note on Remains of the Roman lines in North-Western Iraq (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCII, No. 1 July 1938).
37. The Ancient Trade routes past Hatra and its Roman posts (Reprint from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1941).
38. Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Sythian coins (Reprint from the *Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August 1887. London 1887).
39. Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Sythian coins (Reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pt. CCVII with plates. Bombay, 1888).
40. An Archaeological Journey in Western Iran (Reprint from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCII, No. 4, Oct. 1938).
41. *Archaeological reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran with illustrations, plates of antiques, plans and maps from original surveys*, London, 1937.
42. Collection of Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan. Notes by A. H. Francke (Reprint from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for Jan. 1914).
43. *Memoir of Maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Extra No. 2 for 1899.)
44. On Ancient tracks past the Pamirs (Reprint from the *Himalayan Journal*, Vol. IV, 1932).
45. *Kashmiri-English Dictionary*, 2 Vols.
46. *Notes on the life and Labours of Captain Anthony Troyer* (Reprint from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Letters*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1940).
47. In memoriam-Pandit Kaul (Reprint from the preface to *Hatim's Tales—Kashmir Stories and Songs*, London, 1923).
48. *The Castle of Lohara* (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVI).

49. *Preliminary Note on an Archaeological Tour on the Indus, (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX).*
50. Notes on an Archaeological Tour in South Bihar and Hazaribagh. *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX (1901).*
51. Archaeological Notes during Explorations in Central Asia in 1906-08. (with preface by Editor) *Indian Antiquary, Vols. XXXVIII and XXXIX.*
52. A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16 *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVI.*
53. Excavations at Sahri Bahlol—*Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12*
54. Exploration of the Mahaban range *Ibid* 1904-05
55. Identification of Parihāsapura. „ 1915-16
56. A Note on Avantipura „ 1913-14
57. A Note on Aornos Rock. „ 1904-05
and 1924-25
58. A Note on Baijnath Temple. „ 1905-06
59. A Note on Kashmir monuments. „ 1915-16
60. A Note on Mount Banj. „ 1904-05
61. A Note on Rajagriha. „ 1905-06
62. For Reports as Officer on Special Duty in the Archaeological Department see *Annual Reports, Archaeological Survey of India 1921-28.*
63. Notes on Inscriptions from Udyāna presented by Major Deane. *J. R. A. S., 1898.*
64. Sanskrit Deed of Sale concerning a Kashmirian Mahābhārata Ms., *J. R. A. S., 1900.*
65. Notes on a Journey from Hunza, *J. R. A. S. 1901.*
66. On Colonel Deane's Inscribed Stones from Swat. *J. R. A. S. 1903.*
67. Early Judaeo-Persian Document from Khotan, *J. R. A. S., 1903.*

The Colophon of the Jātaka-stava

By H. W. BAILEY

We are indebted to Sir M. Aurel Stein for so many discoveries concerning the history of Chinese Turkestan and I have myself been so fortunate in working at the Khotanese manuscripts of his collection that I am pleased indeed to offer a small tribute to his memory and can only regret that the present time has divorced me from my books and hence reduced the offering to so little.

Among the many manuscripts that we owe to Sir Aurel Stein is one containing the text of the Khotanese Jātaka-stava. A facsimile of this manuscript has been published in *Codices Khotanenses* (Copenhagen, 1938). The introductory verses dedicate the poem to the Khotanese king Śrī Viśa Śūra. The following note refers only to the colophon which is found on folio 39 written in cursive Brāhmī script. This reads as follows:—

ttū Jāttaka-stavā biysūñām dāṣkarā kīrām hīvī agā

cā kīmāśanā pasta pīḍai biysūstā brrīyi

ttye pūñā kūśalā-mūla pārrjsai jsa cakavattai śai tcūnā aṇiscyā
rāśā gavu ga-vaśiṣa hamāvā upatta-vaśesa sthānā-vīśaiṣa
haiysdi vira jsā viśārā rāśā rādā bviysye jsīñā prīyāgā
hamāvi: maiscyi aṇescyānā bvaiysa jsīna hamāvi kalpa
jsa hajsaiḍe karma biśdi jādi biśa pīrmāttama ttā baiysuṣṭi
parīdi vyechai

tt<ū>ṣṭām pūñā padā śānā pyarā pūhyā cā pina jsa habrrīhū
gavi vasasidā: mira hūmām bveysa-jsīnā hamāvā

tt<ū>ṣ<ṭām>pūñā pyara hiye paysāvyē brrāvāra cā ttaiha
tcainā kharūṣa jsa habrrīhu u pūrā dvarā jsa

ttu ṣṭām pūñā naira kīma-hva jsa habrrīhū u dvīra rūpājīva jsa:
dvīrā jvālakya jsa brrāvāra ttravilai sīdyavarra jsa ttravī-
lai darmajñā jsa

harbiśām asīrya gāthā vajrayaunyām jsa biśā satva biysūstāṣṭā
vyārṇa byehidā

aysa ttā cā [ca] kīmāśanā byehīme thyau madrrām sījāṣṭā
baiysūstā vyichīme Kymsan

paysāvyē hvārakyā sūrai maittra jsa

Translation

“This Jātaka-stava is a book (*anga*) of the difficult feats of the Buddha. Ṭṣang Kim-śan ordered to write (*or*: condescended to write)

for love of Bodhi. In reliance upon the merit of this favourable root, may the Emperor Śing-tsun possess the position of endless lordship and a peculiar position, a peculiar rebirth and a peculiar station. At the present time may the king of the Vajra kingdom enjoy long life. May he be mighty, endless and long-lived. May all the deeds accumulated through the age disappear. May he condescend to attain the supreme Bodhi.

This same merit I share with.....my father...Tṣang Pin. May his states of life be purified. May my mother Hūmām be long-lived.

This same merit I share with my father's own brother Tṣang Tig-tsin and with sons and daughters.

This same merit I share with my wife Kim-hva, with my daughter Rūpājīva, with my daughter Jvālākya, with my brother the knower of three Piṭakas Sidhyavardhana, with my brother the knower of the three Piṭakas Dharmajñāna, with all teachers and householders of the Vajrayāna. May all beings attain to Bodhi according to prophecy.

May I, therefore, Tṣang Kim-śan, attain swiftly to the learning of the formulæ (*mantra*). May I realise Bodhi. Kim-san.

With my own sister Sūrai-maitra."

A few brief notes will justify this translation. The name of the owner of the manuscript Cā Kīmāśanā, that is, Tṣang Kim-śan, tells us that we are concerned with a member of the distinguished Tṣang family which during most of the T'ang period supplied hereditary governors to the region of Śa-tṣou. The full name is preserved in a Chinese Text (Stein MS, Ch. 1.0021a) as 張金山 Tṣang Kin-san (older *t'iang kī²m-śan*, Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, 1174, 386, 849), from which we learn also that he was the ambassador of Yu-tien (Khotan). His name appears in the last line of the colophon, most unexpectedly, in Sogdian script as Kym-san, and can be seen again in Sogdian script on the end of folio 156 of the Siddha-sāra (facsimile in *Codices Khotanenses*). The same name has also been noticed elsewhere in Khotanese manuscripts. His relationship to the present colophon is expressed by the ambiguous phrase *pasta pīḍai*: the verb *parrud-* means either 'to order' or 'to condescend.'

The merit of writing the Jātaka-stava is then shared with the king, his own family and the teachers and laity of the Buddhist Vajrayāna sect. The king, who is styled Cakravartī or emperor, is given a Chinese epithet *śai tcūnā* which probably corresponds to the Chinese Buddhist 聖尊 *ṣ²ng-tsun* 'sacred and revered' (from older *śiäng-tsu²n*, Karlgren, *loc. cit.* 1205, 1112). This epithet is used elsewhere (see BSOAS. 9. 541) of the Khotanese king Viśa Darma. The names of his family come next. Cā is Tṣang. The

mother's name Hūmām has not been identified. The uncle's name Kharūṣa occurs in other Khotanese texts, as in the Staël-Holstein roll 40, 47 (where the editor read wrongly *dū, du* for *rū*). The wife's name Kim-hva is clearly Chinese Kin-xua 'golden Flower' (from older *ki²m-x^wa*, Karlgren, *loc. cit.* 386,94). The daughter's name Rūpājīva is Indian and is evidently used here in no pejorative sense. The second daughter's name Jvālakya 'Brilliant' is also Indian, but the suffix-kya is likely to be Khotanese. The two brothers have Indian names and both are Tripitakas (*ttiravīlai* from a middle Indian **trivīḍaa-*). The ācāryas and gṛhasthas belong to the Vajrayāna (*vajrayāniḥa-*), which is familiar also in other Khotanese texts. The sister Sūrainaitra was evidently overlooked and her name inserted later.

The term *Agisāla* in two Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions

By T. BURROW

In the ruins of Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī, which have been identified as the remains of the *stūpa* and *vihāra* of Kanishka, a metal relic casket bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription was unearthed during excavations in the year 1909. The inscription was edited with photographs by Spooner¹ and Marshall², and appears as no. lxxii in Sten Konow's edition of the *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*.³ In this inscription there occurs a word *agisāla* which was interpreted by the original editors as a rendering in Kharoṣṭhī letters of the Greek proper name Agesilaus. In this Konow follows them without any question, as also do general writers on Indian history⁴, as a result of which 'Agesilaos' has become established as a minor historical figure. Nevertheless in spite of this practical unanimity, the grounds for finding the Greek name Agesilaos in this inscription are the slenderest possible, and the reasons for not accepting the theory are so strong that a serious examination of the facts leads with practical certainty to its rejection. It is the purpose of this short article to state briefly the arguments against the current theory, with the hope that 'Agesilaos' may finally be disposed of.

There are two conditions essential if we are going to read a Greek name in an Indian inscription; firstly that it should be rendered with reasonable accuracy in the Indian alphabet, and secondly that there should not be some more obvious Indian interpretation at hand. There are cases where these conditions are fulfilled. Well-known examples to which reference can be made are Heliudora of the Besnagar pillar inscription⁵ and Theudora of the Swat relic vase inscription.⁶ In the latter case there is further confirmation in the fact that Theudora has the Greek title Meridarch. Quite different is the case with *agisāla*. This is not the way one would expect the name Agesilaos

1 ASIAR., 1909—10, pp. 135 ff.

2 JRAS., 1909, pp. 105b ff.

3 CII., vol. II, pt. i, pp. 135ff.

4 V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*,⁴ p. 277, referring to "the celebrated relic casket bearing an image and inscription of Kanishka, whose superintending engineer had the Greek name of Agesilaos"; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux Temps des Mauryas et des Barbares*, p. 258, W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 355, 392.

5 Marshall, JRAS., 1909, pp. 1053ff.

6 Konow, CII., II, i 1ff.

to be represented. In the first place the -g-, as Konow observes, is 'devoid of the usual otiose r- stroke'⁷ This 'r- stroke' is indicative of a fricative pronunciation of single intervocalic g and in such cases the transliteration -ḡ- is more convenient than Konow's -g(r)-. Its absence quite certainly indicates -gg- which was not of course fricatised, and for that reason it is possible to distinguish original -g- from -gg- in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, even though the alphabet does not write double consonants. This being the case there is no force in Konow's suggestion⁸ that this way of writing indicates a foreign name. Single g of whatever origin was pronounced as a fricative and as such represented in writing; in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Central Asia there are foreign names in plenty, but we always find in such cases single intervocalic g rendered as fricative (-ḡ-). Another objection is the following consonant—the palatal -ś-. If the Greek name Agesilaos were being represented, there is no reason why the dental -s- corresponding to the Greek should not have been used. Finally the vowels do not correspond very well. It would have been just as easy in Kharoṣṭhī to write *aḡesil-*, as *agiśal-*, if it had been a question of rendering that name.

Turning to the second point, we find even stronger reasons for disbelieving that *agiśala* is a rendering of a Greek name. In his edition of the text⁹ Marshall remarks: "The name Agiśala is certainly non-Indian". Foucher¹⁰ is not quite so certain. According to him *agiśala* could represent Skt. *Agniśāla-* which he renders 'one who possesses a temple of fire'. This however he regards as a corruption due to popular etymology of the original Greek name. He then proceeds to defend the theory with a completely illogical argument. "Pour nous refuser à admettre une interprétation aussi simple, il faudrait rejeter en bloc non seulement toutes les transcriptions indiennes de mots grecs que nous donnent les textes classiques et le légendes des monnaies, mais encore l' Heliodore, fils de Diya (Dion), de l'inscription de Besnagar et le Thaidora (Théodore) fils de Datis de celle de Koldarra". It does not of course follow, if the explanation of *agiśala* by 'Agesilaos' is to be rejected, that all other Greek names in Indian sources are also to be rejected.

In speaking of *Agniśāla* Foucher practically gives the game away, except that he still wants to see in the word a proper name. Such a name is unlikely and the most natural interpretation of *agiśala*

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

8 *Ib.*, p. 135.

9 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 1058.

10 *L'Art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 532.

appearing in a Kharoṣṭhī document is that it corresponds to Skt. *agnisālā*, Pa. *aggisālā* 'a hall of fire'. Bearing in mind the fact that -g- (instead of -ḡ-, -g(r)-) represents -gg-, such a conclusion is difficult to avoid, and it is difficult to see what else the original users of Kharoṣṭhī could have made of it. The *agiśāla* has of course nothing to do with a 'fire-temple' as Foucher seems to think, but was a recognised part of a Buddhist monastery. In the Pali texts *aggisālā* which the Pali Text Society's Dictionary renders 'a heated hall or refectory' is mentioned as such an established institution in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*¹¹ and other works.

That being the case, it is not surprising to find mention of it in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which are of predominantly Buddhist content. As it happens, another Kharoṣṭhī inscription has recently turned up in which the same word is found. This is on a stone lamp found by Barger and Wright during their journey of exploration in the Swat Valley in 1938, and now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. In the publication dealing with the finds of this expedition¹², this inscription is listed and a tentative transcription given:—

Sagami caudiśami [gaḍdaḥ] agiśāla [e goḥ soḥ]

Although not completely legible, the purport of this inscription is quite clear. It is a statement that the lamp belongs to the community of Buddhist monks ("the Saṃgha of the Four Quarters") and further specifies that it is kept in the fire-hall of the monastery (*agiśālae* Loc. S.). In view of the obviousness of this interpretation, it is unlikely that anyone will want to read the name 'Agesilaos' into this text, and it would be quite arbitrary and inconsistent to understand *agiśāla* as representing Skt. *agnisālā* in one text, and in the other text a foreign name.

The interpretation of *agiśāla* given here necessitates a re-examination of the passage in the Kaniska casket inscription in which it occurs. This passage occurs at the base of the casket and runs as follows:

dasa agiśāla navaḥarmi kaneṣṭkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṃgharame

It seems that through haplography *navaḥarmi Kaneṣṭkasa* has been written for *navaḥarmi <ka> Kaneṣṭkasa*. Under the assumption that *agiśāla* meant 'Agesilaos' this has been translated: "The slave Agesilaos, the Superintendent of works at the vihāra of Kaniska in the monastery of Mahasena". Since, however, for the reasons

11 *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, II, 154, 210 etc.

12 *Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus territories of Afghanistan*, p. 60 (MAS. no. 64)

given above, there is no adequate basis for the rendering 'Agesilaos', a different translation must be given. Interpreting *agiśala* as Skt. *agniśālā*, we can construe without difficulty the phrase *agiśala nava-karmi* <*ka*>, since a reference to the repairing or rebuilding of an *agniśālā* is one that we might expect to come across in a Kharoṣṭhi inscription dealing with a Buddhist monastery. This interpretation leaves the sentence without a proper name, and there is no compelling to believe that it should have contained one, especially if we interpret *dasa* at the beginning of the sentence not as a singular, but as a plural. This we almost certainly should do, since the regular form of the nominative singular in these inscriptions is either -o or -e. Such a form of the nominative singular is found in this inscription in *deyadharme* of the preceding line. That being the case, the whole sentence should be translated: "The slaves who rebuilt the *agniśālā* in the vihāra of Kaniṣka, in the monastery of Mahāsenā."

A final note is necessary on the word *navakarmika*. This means properly 'renewer, repairer, rebuilder', and not merely 'architect' in general. This has an important bearing on the date of the casket, since a reference to the rebuilding of a portion of Kaniṣka's vihāra suggests that it had been in existence for some time—long enough in fact for parts of it to have fallen into disrepair. If this is the case, the casket may well be dated something like a hundred years after Kaniṣka, and not, as is generally assumed, be contemporaneous with his reign.

Negapatam and Theravāda Buddhism in South India

BY DR. S. PARANAVITANA

The two Leiden grants¹ of the Coḷa Emperors Rājārāja I and Kulot-tuṅga I respectively, are well-known to students of Indian history and antiquities. From these two documents we learn that, in the eleventh century, Buddhism still had its adherents at the port of Negapatam on the south-eastern sea-board of India, and that the followers of this faith in Further India took an interest in building shrines at that place and making endowments for their maintenance. The remains of the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra of Negapatam, built by the Śailendra king of Kaṭāha and Śriviṣaya, as recorded in the larger Leiden grant, were preserved as late as 1867 and might be still standing, had their historical significance been appreciated then as it would be now.² A large number of Buddhist bronzes, many of them inscribed, were discovered at Negapatam some years ago, indicating the existence of a considerable Buddhist population at this place at the date to which these bronzes can be ascribed, i.e. about the 11th or 12th century. Tamil literature has also preserved evidence of the connection of Buddhists with Negapatam. Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, the learned editor of the Leiden plates, states:³ "In the traditional account of Tirumaṅgani-Ālvār, who is described in the *Guruparamparā* as a feudatory of the Coḷa king of his day, it is stated that he once went to Nāgapattanam, got inside the Buddhist temple at the place, carried away the gold image that was enshrined within it and melting the same, utilised the amount in building walls and other structures in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. If there is any truth in this, it would show that long prior to the construction of Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra, i.e. before the beginning of the 9th century, Negapatam was renowned as a Buddhist centre and had in it a Bauddha monument. We do not know if the *viḥāra* that was erected in the days of Rājārāja I was a new one or was only the renewal of the old monument."

The Pali literature of Ceylon has preserved some references to Negapatam which prove that the connection of Buddhism with that

1 Edited by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 213-281.

2 For the circumstances in which these Buddhist remains were demolished, see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 224.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 230-31.

port goes back to a very early date and that the place remained a centre of Buddhist activities when that religion had ceased to count adherents in many other parts of the Tamil land where it was once flourishing. These references, which, so far as my knowledge goes, have not received the attention of students of Indian history, may be of some interest to readers of this Journal.

The *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, in its account of the life and activities of Buddhaghosa, the greatest of Pali commentators, states that it was from Nāgapattana that he took ship to come to the island of Ceylon from India.⁴ According to Ceylon tradition, Buddhaghosa was a native of North India, and after his conversion to Buddhism, he was entrusted by his teacher with the task of translating into Pali the exegetical literature which then existed in the Sinhalese language. The account of Buddhaghosa and his literary activities given in the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* agrees in the main with that of the *Mahāvamsa* (Chap. 37, vv. 215-246) but gives additional details. The author of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, Dhammakitti, was a native of Siam, but he received his ordination in Ceylon and studied in that island under Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁵ The statement recorded in the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* may therefore be taken as the tradition which was current in Ceylon during the fourteenth century. The story of Buddhaghosa is full of improbabilities, but the mention of Nāgapattana as the port from which he took ship to come to this island must have been at least due to the fact that it was well-known to the Buddhists of Ceylon as a place from where religious teachers from India started on their sea-voyage to the island.

Negapatam is also connected with Dhammapāla who, as a commentator of Pali texts, occupies a place second only to that of the great Buddhaghosa. In the colophons of his numerous works, it is stated that Dhammapāla was a resident of Badaratittha-vihāra. The *Sāsanavamsa*, which is a work produced in Burma not more than a

4 *Evam vutte āyasmā Buddhaghosoppītisomanassuppatto hutvā upajjhāyam ca bhikkhu-saṅghaṃ ca vanditvā āpucchitvā anugamanena Nāgapattanaṃ sampāpuṇi. Atha Sakko devarājā haritakiphallaṃ ca lekhaṇiṃ ca tassa datvā sakatthānam eva gato....Tato so nāvam abhirūhivā etc. Journal of the Pali Text Society for 1890, p. 53.*

5 See *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. XV, pp. 39-46 and my paper 'Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the 13th-15th centuries' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 204-205.

hundred years ago, states that this Badaratittha was in the Tamil country not far from the island of Ceylon.⁶ The passage stating that Dhammapāla resided at Badaratittha, occurring at the end of manuscripts of his works, may not be Dhammapāla's own but might have been added by a later copyist. In the colophons to his works which can, without doubt, be attributed to Dhammapāla himself, there is only one reference to any place he resided in, and that occurs at the close of his commentary to the Nettippakaraṇa. Therein he refers to himself as 'residing in the Dhammāsoka-mahārāja-vihāra at Nāga-paṭṭana, the place where the Good Law crossed over (saddhammā-vataraṭṭhāna).'⁷

The date of the Pali commentator Dhammapāla is not definitely known, but most Pali scholars are inclined to believe that he flourished not long after Buddhaghosa, that is to say, about the sixth century. Rhys Davids' identification of this Pali commentator with the Dharmapāla of Kāñcī, mentioned by Hieun Tsiang, is open to grave doubts and he may have flourished at a date considerably later than that to which he is ascribed by a consensus of opinion among Pali scholars. However this may be, Dhammapāla's connection with Negapatam is beyond doubt. It is also interesting to note that the vihāra at Negapatam wherein Dhammapāla resided, was named after the great Buddhist emperor Aśoka. The name was probably due to the belief of the local Buddhists that Aśoka himself was instrumental in the introduction of Buddhism to the country round Negapatam. It may even be that the faithful of the place ascribed the foundation of this religious establishment to the great Buddhist emperor.⁸

The epithet *saddhammāvataraṭṭhāna* applied to Negapatam is highly significant. It was most probably due to the fact that Buddhist missionaries who left the shores of India to propagate the faith abroad took ship at this sea-port. The geographical position of Negapatam must have made it take a great part in the commercial and cultural intercourse which developed in ancient times between South India and the countries of Further India and the Indonesian islands. The

6 *Sāsana-vamsa*, P.T.S. Edition, p. 33.

7 *Saddhammāvataraṭṭhāne paṭṭane Nāga-savhaye
Dhammāsoka-mahārāja-vihāre vasatū mayā.*

The *Nettippakaraṇa* with extracts from Dhammapāla's Commentary, edited by E. Hardy, P.T.S. London, 1902, p. 249.

8 Hieun Tsiang, in his account of South Indian lands, mentions a number of places which had *stūpas* ascribed to Asoka, See Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 227, 230 and 231.

epithet of 'Coliya' in Ceylon writings, and as a Buddhist *vihāra* called Cūḍāmaṇi-varma is known to have existed in the Coḷa country, we can safely correct the form of this name occurring in manuscripts to Cūḍāmaṇi-varma-vihāra. The word *varma* would not have been known to the ordinary copyist in Ceylon, but the word *ḥarma* was well-known to him. The error can thus be accounted for very easily. We may therefore conclude that the second of the two monasteries of which Buddhappiya was the superior was the same as that founded by Māravijayottuṅgavarman, king of Kaṭāha and Śrīviṣaya and endowed at the request of that foreign potentate by the Coḷa emperor Rājaraḷa I, and later by Kulottuṅga—Coḷa I. Neither the *Rūpasiddhi* nor its Sinhalese gloss has any reference to Negapatam, and we are therefore not in a position to say whether the other convent, named Bālāditya, was situated at that place. It was evidently the more important of the two establishments, for Buddhappiya made special mention of it while he left the identity of the other to be explained by his exegetist. Like the Cūḍāmaṇivarma Vihāra and Dhammāsoka Vihāra of Negapatam, Bālādicca Vihāra, too, appears to have been named after an important personage. The most famous Bālāditya of Buddhist history was the king of Magadha who, according to Hieun Tsiang, was the founder of the celebrated *vihāra* of Nālandā but we cannot assert that a monastic establishment in the Coḷa country was named after him.

The connection of Buddhappiya-thera with Negapatam seems beyond doubt. This therā occupies a position of considerable importance in the history of Theravāda Buddhism. Besides the *Rūpasiddhi*, he was also the author of a Pali poem called the *Pajjamadhu*.¹² As will be seen from what follows, he seems to have made a commendable effort to resuscitate the waning fortunes of Buddhism in South India. It will therefore be of some interest for the history of Buddhism in South India to ascertain the time during which this religious teacher flourished. The consensus of opinion among scholars in Ceylon is that Buddhappiya flourished in the thirteenth century during the reign of Parākramabāhu II.¹³ This date, however, seems to be too late by about a century.

Attention may be drawn in this connection to a passage occurring in the *Vimativinodani*,¹⁴ an exegetical work on the Vinaya written

12. Edited in the *J.P.T.S.* for 1887, pp. 1-16.

13 See Malalasekara, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London, 1928, pp. 220ff.

14 Edited and published in Sinhalese characters by Somāloka Tissa Thera, Laksman Press, Colombo, 1935.

by another South Indian Buddhist writer, Kassapa by name. In discussing the question whether it is an offence to drink intoxicating liquor unwittingly, this author says: "In former times, a certain *thera* named Nāgasena who lived in this Tamil country and belonged to a persuasion differing (from the Theravāda), had the story of Kuṇḍalakesī done into the form of a Tamil poem,¹⁵ for the purpose of exhibiting the methods of refuting other doctrines. He instructed the poet who composed the poem and had it composed inserting in that composition various perverted views, confusing the mind with fallacious arguments, such as (1) that this act of drinking intoxicating liquors is sinful only in the case of drinking the same intentionally (2) that the knowledge of the Omniscient One is not capable of perceiving in a particularised manner the knowledgable objects, which are infinite by differences of time and space; if the knowledgable objects are limited by knowledge, it would lead to the absurdity of disavowing the infiniteness of knowledgable objects, therefore the Omniscient One is capable of knowing objects only in their general character, such as their evanescence, (3) such conventions as *puggala* (personality) etc., are separate entities like name and form, etc., in the categories of ultimates. This heretical view was introduced to the doctrines of Vibhajjavādins on account of that poem and continued to remain so for a long time. It was eradicated at a later period by the great *thera* Buddhappiya, who established the pure religion here by tearing asunder the net of false views, both external and internal. Nevertheless, certain persons of perverted mind again raised their heads relying on the statement in the explanatory work on the Vinaya, called the *Sāratthadīpanī*, that the drinking of liquor is sinful only when it is intentional".¹⁶

15 This Buddhist poem, like the *Maṇimekalai*, was included among the five *mahākāvyas* of the Tamil language. It is no longer extant and is known only from quotations in other literary works.

16. Pubbe kira imasmim̐ Damīla-ratṭhe koci bhinnaladdhiko Nāgaseno nāma thero Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthum paravāda-mathana-nayadussanattāṃ Damīla-kabba-rūpena karento imam surāpānassa jānitvā va pivane akusala-nayaṃ aññaṃ ca desakālādi-bhedena amantam̐ pi ñeyyam sabbāññuta-ññaṃ salak-khaṇa-vasen'eva nātum na sakkoti, nāyena paricchinnattena ñeyyassa anantatta-hānippasaṅgato, aniccādi-sāmañña-lakkhaṇa-vasen'eva nātum sakkoti'ti ca paramattha-dhammesu nāma-rūpaṃ'ti ādi-bhedo viya puggalādi-sammuti'pi visum vatthu-bhedo evā'ti ca evamādikaṃ bahum̐ viparītattā-nayaṃ kabba-kārassa kavino upadisitvā tasmim̐ pabundhe kāraṇābhāsehi satim̐ sammohetvā pabandhāpesi,....Taṃ ca kabbaṃ nissāya imam̐ bhinna-laddhikaṃ matam̐

It is clear from this reference that some time before Buddhappiya's reform of the South Indian Theravāda community, the question whether it is a sin even if one tasted liquor unwittingly aroused considerable discussion among its members. Those who maintained that no sin is committed if there is no intention of drinking liquor appealed to the Tamil poem *Kuṇḍalakesī* in support of their position. Buddhappiya condemned this view as heretical but after some time it was revived by an appeal to the authority of the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The wording of the passage in the *Vimativinodanī* suggests that the decision on this point given in the *Sāratthadīpanī* is posterior to Buddhappiya. *Sāratthadīpanī* is an extensive sub-commentary to the Vinaya written by the learned therā named Śārīputra who flourished in Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186). Buddhappiya Thera may therefore be taken, on the authority of the *Vimativinodanī*, to have flourished before, or contemporaneously with, Śārīputra.

It may however be argued that such an inference need not necessarily be drawn from the reference in the *Vimativinodanī*, quoted above. The *Sāratthadīpanī* might already been written before the time of Buddhappiya's reform, but the South Indian Theravādins who did not object to the taking of liquor unwittingly, might not have known it at that time and became aware of the evidence supporting their contention contained in that authority at some later date.

But there is further evidence of a decisive nature which proves that Buddhappiya flourished in the twelfth and not in the thirteenth century. The Pali grammar *Padasādhana* refers to Buddhappiya's *Rūpasiddhi* and criticises some of its views.¹⁷ The *Padasādhana* is based on the grammatical system of Moggallāna who in the *vutti* composed by himself to elucidate his own aphorisms, states that this work was composed in the reign of Parākramabāhu I.¹⁸ Moggallāna was also one of the leading members of the synod convened by Parā-

idha vibhajjāvādi-mate sammāssaṃ ciraṃ pavatthittha. Tam pana pacchā Ācariya Buddhappiya-mahātherena bahirabbhantarikaṃ diṭṭhijālaṃ vighāṭetvā idha parisuddhaṃ sāsanaṃ paṭiṭṭhapentena sodhitam'pi Sāratthadīpaniya Vinayaṭikāya surāpānassa sacittakapakke yeva cittaṃ akusalaṃ ti samatthana-vacanaṃ nissāya kehici vipallattha-cittehi puna ukkhitta-siraṃ jātaṃ (Vimativinodanī, op. cit, pp. 100-101)

17 *Padasādhana*, with Sinhalese paraphrase, edited by Dhammānanda Thera, Colombo 1932, p. 67.

18 James d'Alvis, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese Literary Works*, Vol. I, p. 185.

kramabāhu for the purpose of purifying and uniting the Buddhist church in Ceylon, early in his reign.¹⁹ To occupy such a position he must have been a very senior *thera* at that time. The grammarian Moggallāna (Vyāriṇi Mugalan) is referred to as a high dignitary of the Church in the Tamil inscription which the Veḷaikkāras set up at Polonnaruva some years before the accession of Parākramabāhu.²⁰

The author of the *Padasādhana*, by name Piyadassi, was a direct pupil of Moggallāna,²¹ as stated by himself in the colophon to his work. That work, therefore, must have been composed within the reign of Parākramabāhu, or a few years after his death at the latest. The *Rūpasiddhi*, quoted and criticised in the *Padasādhana*, must be earlier in date and its author Buddhappiya seems to have been a younger contemporary of Moggallāna.

Scholars who ascribe Buddhappiya to the thirteenth century do so relying mainly on their identification of his teacher Ānanda with the *thera* of that name who was a pupil of Medhakkara of Udumbaragiri, the hierarch who induced Parākramabāhu II (1236-1269) to reorganise the Buddhist Church in Ceylon.²² This Ānanda Thera of the thirteenth century was the author of a Sinhalese interverbal translation (*sanne*) to the *Padasādhana* in which, as we have noted above, Buddhappiya is criticised. It is, therefore, impossible that he was the teacher of Buddhappiya.

In this connection, an inscription of Sundaramahādevī, queen of Vikramabāhu I (1116-1137), found at Polonnaruva,²³ merits consideration. The record is too fragmentary for us to decide what its purport was, but it opens with a Pali stanza eulogising a *thera* named Ānanda. The inscription praises Ānanda as a person of high spiritual attainments, calls him a banner raised aloft in the land of Laṅkā and informs us that he was instrumental in the establishment of the Buddhist religion in the Coḷa country besides having had contacts with the *saṅgha* of the Tambaratṭha.²⁴ Buddhappiya, in referring to his teacher calls him a 'banner unto the island of Ceylon' almost the

19 *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 78, v. 9 and *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 249.

20 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 249 ff.

21 *Padasādhana*, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302.

22 Malalasekara, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 211.

23 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 67-72.

24 *Ānanda-nāma-vidito jayatiddhipatto*
Laṅkā-talussita-dhajo pavaro yatiso
Yo Tambaratṭha-yati...thera-bhūto
Coḷesu sāsana-patitṭhitako'si dhīro.

very words by which the inscription refers to Ānanda-thera. As there is convincing proof that Buddhappiya lived in the twelfth century, the Ānanda-thera of the Polonnaruva inscription could very well have been his teacher.

In my edition of the inscription referred to above, I have given reasons for the identification of Tamba-raṭṭha mentioned therein with the country round Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat, the ancient Sri Dharmmarāja Nagara) in the Malay Peninsula. The authority of the Śailendra kings, one of whom built a *vihāra* at Negapatam in South India, extended to the Malaya Peninsula. If, therefore, the teacher of Buddhappiya had connections with Ligor, his position as the head of the *vihāra* established in South India by one of the Śailendra kings can be accounted for. It seems, therefore, that Buddhappiya became the head of the Cuḍāmaṇi-varma-*vihāra* in succession to his teacher, Ānanda, in whose foot-steps he also followed in his activities for the propagation of Buddhism in the Coḷa country.

From what we know of the Śailendra kings from their inscriptions, they seem to have been followers of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, but there is no evidence to show to what school of Buddhism the *vihāra* built at Negapatam by Māravijayattuṅga-varma originally belonged. From the foregoing, however, we find this *vihāra* under the control of Theravādins in the twelfth century. If the Śailendra kings who founded this *vihāra* were Mahāyanists, its passing over to the Theravādins is worthy of note.

The Theravāda seems to have been in the ascendant at Nakhon Si Thammarat (Śrī Dharmarāja Nagara) in the thirteenth century. About the same time or somewhat earlier we find Theravāda supplanting the Mahāyāna in Siam and Cambodia. The passing of the *vihāra* at Negapatam to the control of the Theravādins who had intimate connections with Ceylon may also be taken as a part of this religious movement of which very few historical details are known to us at present.

The Tamil land and the Eastern Colonies

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Tamil influences on the early script, language, architecture and so on of the Malaya peninsula and archipelago have been traced by several scholars; but references to these lands in early Tamil literature are somehow not so frequent as one would expect. One decidedly early reference occurs in the *Paṭṭinappālai* where, among the imports into the city of Puhār or Kāveripattinam is included *Kālagattu ākkaṁum* i.e. produce from Kālagam, which has been interpreted to mean Kaḍāram, modern Kedah as Choedés demonstrated in his celebrated paper *La Royaume de Çrivijaya*¹. The equation of Kaḍāram with Kālagam is found in the geographical section of the *Divākaram*, the earliest lexicon in the Tamil language now accessible to us. The *Paṭṭinappālai* is a poem of the time of Cōḷa Karikāla, and cannot be placed much later than the end of the second century A.D. or the beginning of the third.

It is the aim of this short note to invite attention to another of these all too rare early Tamil texts mentioning the eastern colonies and their trade connections with South India. It occurs in Canto XIV (ll. 106-10) of the *Śilappadikāram*, and reads :

ōṅgirim parappin
vaṅga-viṭṭattut-Toṇḍiyōr-iṭṭa
vagiḷun-dugiḷum-āvamum-vāsamun-
dogu-karuppūramuñ-jumanduḍan vanda
koṇḍaloḍu pugundu.

The literal meaning of these lines is as follows: 'Having entered together with the east wind that came laden with (the aroma) of aloe, silks, sandal, spices, and camphor put by the residents of Toṇḍi on board a fleet of tall roomy ships.' The place said to be entered is the city of Madura, an inland city; that is why the poet is careful to say that the person who entered the city did so with the eastern wind (*koṇḍal*); and the thought of the eastern wind calls up the image of an armada of merchantmen laden with the cargo of precious articles specified in lines 3 and 4 of the citation. It will be noticed that the articles are all of them special products of the eastern lands on which we have always depended for a supply of them, as the present war conditions have sharply reminded us.

There are two commentaries available on this text. The earlier commentary (anonymous) correctly interprets the text without introducing a single extraneous idea, and leaves it there; we may note, however, that the word *vāsam* (spices) is explained as comprising *takkōlam* (cubeb), *Jātikkāy* (nutmeg) and other substances. 'Takkōlam' would doubtless recall to the reader's mind the learned discussion of this word by Sylvain Lévi in his essay on *Ptolémée, Le Niddesa, et la Bṛhatkathā in Etudes Asiatiques*. The later annotator, Aḍiyārkkunallār who wrote sometime about the fourteenth century A.D. makes a greater display of the knowledge and beliefs of his time. The whole comment is too long for reproduction, and we shall notice only the points that concern our enquiry. He makes it clear that *Toṇḍi* was a town in the east—a natural inference from the mention of *Koṇḍāl* in the text, as *koṇḍal* is a special name for the eastern wind. Then he says that the kings of *Toṇḍi* sent the articles mentioned as tribute to the ruler of Madura—an intrusive statement for which there is no warrant in the neutral words *Toṇḍiyor—iṭṭa*, placed in ships by those of *Toṇḍi*—of the text of the poem. We should not hesitate to reject this suggestion of a political relation between the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and *Toṇḍi* of the East. The note on the list of articles is of great interest as bringing before us traces of a considerable technical lore of which the sources are unknown to us. Of *agil* (aloe wood), for instance, he mentions three varieties—*arumaṇavan*, *taḥḥoli*, *kiḍāraṇan*, obviously getting their names from *Rāmañña*, *Takkōla*, and *Kiḍāra* (*Kaḍāra*) very interesting from our point of view. Again, among the many varieties of *tugīl* (silks) noticed is *Kālagam* i.e. produced in *Kālagam* or *Kaḍāram*. Among the varieties of *āram* (sandal) occurs *haricandana*, famous in early Javanese epigraphy as the material out of which images of *Agastya* were made at one time. Like his predecessor whom he closely follows generally, Aḍiyārkkunallār includes *taḥḥōlam* and *Jātikkāy*, cubeb and nutmeg, with many other substances like *lavaṅgam* under *vāsam*. Of camphor he seems to mention no fewer than fourteen kinds, *Cinaccūḍam*—China camphor—among them.

Finally, he crowns the whole by saying that '*Toṇḍiyor*' stands for '*śōlakulattor*' descendants of the *Coḷa* family. This comment has gone far to misguide modern students, and obscure the significance of the text for a long time. For the late Dr. Swaminatha Aiyer added a note to it saying that we may infer from this that there was a *Toṇḍi* on the east coast of South India which was different from the celebrated *Toṇḍi* of the *Ceras* on the west coast², and subject to the

2 Tyndis of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy.

rule of the Coḷas. All these remarks have been reproduced in their entirety by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in his translation of the *Śilappadikāram*, and he goes one step further and identifies Toṇḍi of this text with the homonymous place on the coast of the Ramnad district; he recognises, however, that most of the articles mentioned came from the Archipelago islands in the east.³

The history of error is not without interest, and one is tempted to ask how did the learned Aḍiyārkkunallār come to gloss 'Toṇḍiyor' with 'śōlakulattōr'? Was he thinking of the naval expeditions of the Coḷas against the empire of Śrīvijaya of which the memory might have been still alive in his time? If that was so, did the Coḷas leave behind a branch of the royal family to hold sway over their fresh conquests in these lands? But of all this we have little evidence from other sources. Or was the annotator only confusing 'Toṇḍiyor' with 'Toṇḍaiyar' and basing his gloss on the story in the *Maṇimekhalai* in which a Toṇḍaiyan is born out of the liaison between a Coḷa prince from Negapatam and a Nāga princess Pilivaḷi by name? However that may be, he does not say anything on the location of Toṇḍi. It is placed on the east coast and more precisely identified with Toṇḍi on the Ramnad coast—a place which rose into some importance in the twelfth century A.D.—by the modern writers cited above. But then, how are we to explain the fleet of tall roomy ships on which these precious cargoes are placed by the people of Toṇḍi for their being carried off by the wind to the Madura coast?

It is clear the Toṇḍi must be some place in the lands colonised by the people of South India across the seas. We have a Tirunelvēli in Jaffna, and a Madura island near Java, and other toponymous identities will easily occur to the student of the subject. At the moment I am unable to suggest any suitable identification, and it is my main object to place the facts as they appear to me before scholars who may not be readers of Tamil but whose co-operation would be of value in discovering this place.

I do not believe that the *Śilappadikāram* is an early work like the *Paṭṭinappālai*; in its present form it has too many words and features of grammar and prosody that point to a much later date. The reference in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* to winds from *dvīpāntara* (Malaya) laden with the fragrance of cloves is now well known;⁴ and I think that the present reference to Toṇḍi and its trade with the Madura coast is later than the text of Kālidāsa by about a century, if not more.

3 The *Śilappadikāram* or the Lay of the Anklet (1939), p. 204 n. 1.

4 JGIS., Vol. IX, *Dvīpāntara*.

Geographical Notes on the Kurram Valley

By DR. V. S. AGRAWALA

Kurram Valley derives its name from the river Kurram which flows through it. Fortunately this river finds mention in the *R̥gveda* under the name of Krumu (कुरु) in the following two verses :—

So let not Rasa, Krumu or Anitabhā, Kubhā or Sindhu hold you back.

Let not the watery Sarayū obstruct your ways. With us be all the bliss Ye give (*R̥gvada*, V. 53. 9).

First with Tṛṣṭāmā thou art eager to flow forth with Rasā, and Susartu, and with Śvetyā here.

With Kubhā; and with these Sindhu! and Mehatnu, thou seekest in thy course Krumu and Gomatī. (*R̥gveda*, X. 75. 6).

From the above it appears that these rivers, viz. Tṛṣṭāmā, Rasa, Anitabhā, Susartu, Śvetyā, Kubhā, Mehatnu, Krumu and Gomatī were the affluents of the great river Sindhu or Indus meeting it on its right bank. The tributaries of the Indus on its left bank are mentioned in a different verse in which the river Sohan flowing through the Rawalpindi district is called Sushomā. The Swat river is the same as the Suvāstu of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, but in the *R̥gveda* its form seems to be Śvetyā. Kubhā is the same as the Kabul, whereas Krumu is Kurram and Gomatī is Gomal.

The Safed-Koh range on the Indo-Afghan border seems to be the same as the ancient Śvetapatha. In the inscriptions found in the Sānchi Stūpas we have reference to a Greek of Śvetapatha making some donations as follows :—

‘Setapathiyasa yonasa dānam, i. e., the gift of a Yona (Greek) resident of Setapatha (Safed-Koh)’ (*Monuments of Sanchi* by Sir John Marshall, Vol. I, Inscriptions No. 89 and 475; 308 and 348).

Northern Waziristan through which flows the river Tochi was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and is referred to by him under the name Ki-Kiang-na (Watters, *Hiuen Tsang's Travels*, II. 62). It is the same as Qiquin of early Arab history and it was known in the *Mahābhārata* as the Kokanada region. The Kokanadas were a people in the north-west, vanquished by Arjuna in the course of his conquest (*Mbh.* Sabhāparavan. ch. XXVII, verse 18). Southern Waziristan enclosing the Wana valley with its capital at Wana is ancient Vanāyu

famous all along in Sanskrit literature for its breed of fine horses. Bannu east of Waziristan is referred to in Pāṇini's *Āṣṭādhyāyī* (circa fifth century B. C.) under the name of Varṇu. Hiuen Tsang refers to Bannu as *Phalana* and says that the country to the west of *Phalana* was *Ki-Kiang-na*.

In and beyond the northern portion of the N. W. F. Province some further identifications of names may be suggested e.g. Hindukusa was known to the ancient Iranians as *Uparīsyena*, i. e. a hill so high as to the beyond the flight of the eagle. Chitral is ancient Chitraka, also called *Kāraṣakara*. The Panjkora is ancient Gauri, referred to by the Greek writers as the *Gouraios*. Between the Panjkora and the Indus flows the river Swat which was the ancient *Suvāstu*. The Swat valley was known as the *Uḍḍiyāna* country in Buddhist geography. It is referred to as *Urđi* (derivative *Aurdayani*) in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (second century B. C.). A trace of this is found in modern Udegaon. South of Swat is Malakand whose ancient name was *Mālāvat*. In the same region is Dargai with its ancient name *Dārgalas*. The great tribe of the Mohmands living to the north of the Kabul river are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in Pāṇini's *Āṣṭādhyāyī* as *Madhumanta* (Pāṇini, IV. 3. 93). The ancient name of the well-known Afridis is *Aprītāh*, known from the same source (Pāṇini, Rājanyādi Group, IV. 2. 53). Charsadda above the junction of the Panjkora with the Kabul is the region of ancient *Puṣkalāvati* occupied by the people called *Puṣkalāh*. Geographically the region of Peshawar was known as the *Gandhāra* country with its eastern extension upto Shahdheri. The western capital of *Gandhāra* was at *Puṣkalāvati* near Charsadda and the eastern capital at *Takṣaśilā*. The river Bara which flows past Peshawar and joins the Kabul was known in older days as the *Varā* (*Mbh.* Bhīṣmaparvan, Ch. IX). In a way the history of the Kurram region partakes of the general history of the whole *Gandhāra* region for which there is enough material from the Vedic times to the historic periods.

Background of Sufism in Indian Environment

BY MR. M. L. ROY CHOWDHURY

Once in a trance Muḥammad is said to have asked his wife Ayesha, states the author of *Kunṣul Asar il Qidam*, "Man Anti"—who art thou? Ayesha replied, "Ana Ayesha"—I am Ayesha. Muḥammad said, "Man Ayesha"—who is Ayesha? Ayesha answered, "Ibnatus Siddiq"—daughter of Siddiq, Prophet's father-in-law, Muḥammad again asked,—"Who is Siddiq?" Ayesha was now astonished and replied, "the father-in-Law of Muḥammad." Muḥammad repeated, "Who is Muhammad?"

Now Ayesha remained silent, for she understood that the Prophet was in another state of existence where the index of life had become "All is he—Hama Oust" सांझ् ।

And thus Muhammad was the first Sufi of Islam and his stage of experiences is called the ecstasy—"Hal" or (समाधि)

Ibrahim Bin Adam belonged to the royal family of Balkh. "Forty scimitars of gold and forty maces of gold were borne in front of him and behind." Once on a hunting, he heard a voice, "Awake Ibrahim, wert thou made for this?" He left his royal robes and exchanged them for woolen coats of a shepherd, bade farewell to his kingdom and lived in a cave near Naysabi for long nine years. He cried out in agony of his soul, "Oh God, from shame of disobedience to the glory of submission unto thee." And Ibrahim was a Sufi, his stage is called Renunciation—(वैराग्य)

Shaqiq of Balkh resigned himself entirely to the hands of God and made no effort even to maintain his living, for he must not ask anything; nor engage in a trade, his business was God alone. "Ninety-ninths of devotion consists in flight from mankind," said the Shaqiq, and "the remaining tenth is in a silence." And Shaqiq was a Sufi; his stage is silence (नीरवता)

Rabia, that mystic Rabia was once asked, "do you love God"?

"Yes"—was her reply.

"Do you hate the Devil?"—was the next query—

She replied, "My love of God leaves me no leisure to hate Devil."

On another occasion the Prophet appeared before Rabia in a dream and asked, "Rabia—do you love me?" Rabia answered, "Oh apostle of God, who does not love thee? But love of God hath so absorbed me that neither love nor hatred of anything remains in my heart."

And Rabia was a Sufi and her stage was love. (प्रेम)

Yet these mystics were not called Sufis when they lived on the surface of the earth, or the term Sufi did not come into existence till two hundred years after the Prophet's death. The word "*Tasawwuf*" was not mentioned either in "*Sittiah*" compiled in 392 A.H. or even in the "*Qamus*" the standard Arabic Dictionary compiled in 817 A.H. the pious men at the time of the Quran were known as "*Muqurrabin*" (neighbours of God), "*Abrar*" (virtuous men) "*Zuhhad*" (pious men); but there were no "*Sufis*" as such, though the root from which the word has been derived existed in the vocabulary¹

The two hundred years following the death of Muhammad were characterised by devastating civil wars, relentless military despotism and hard mechanical piety of the orthodox creed which led to a revolt towards asceticism and quietism amongst hundreds of followers of the Faith. Wearied and disgusted with the political strifes and insecurity of individual safety, they retired from the things of the world and devoted themselves to things of God. The terror of hell so exhaustively and graphically described in the Quran roused in them an intense consciousness of sin which drove them to seek salvation in ascetic practices and in being sinless. With the quietism was rather a religion and not a speculative system; and they styled themselves Muslims. To them recitation of the Divine names (*Zikr*) was superior to five canonical prayers; and trust in God (*Tawakkul*) meant renunciation of personal initiative and volition resigning oneself in

1 The word Sufi is supposed to have been derived from:—

(a) '*Saf*'—meaning woolen, for the learned men wore woolen garments and lived in caves and monasteries.

(b) '*Soaaf*' meaning "in the direction"—to turn the face to one direction and Sufis are those who turn their faces to the direction of God

(c) '*Suffa*'—there was a sect whose members were celibates; they served Kaba and worshipped God. The Sufi came from the old "*sufa*" for they were sincere. "*Sufa*" means sincerity.

(d) '*Suff*' ich means "a line—those who form the "first line" of lovers of God and their work is called "*Tasawwuf*."

(e) '*Saf*' meaning a coach; during the time of Muhammad one group of people came from outside to learn Islam. They were given seats on a "*Sofa*" (raised platform) from where they learnt everything. Sufi refers these men. Their "sincere" is called "*Tasawwuf*."

(f) '*Safu*' meaning purity" according to Arabic Grammar Rumi and Hafiz, supported this derivation.

(g) '*Sorhina*'—some claim its Greek origin—"Sophia"—wisdom.

God's hands i.e., in short, with them trust in God meant absence of activity to the extent of not seeking means of livelihood or even not taking medicine when ill. This attitude of life meaning the withdrawal of self has been described as quietism of Islam which soon passed into mysticism meaning concentration "in the inward life of dying to self and living in God."*** Along with the growth of mysticism, germs of which had already existed in Islam and in the Prophet's life, new methods of expression of the mystic became increasingly frequent through symbolism of Love and Wine side by side. With this quietistic and devotional growth sprang up a speculative and pantheistic movement which was more un-Islamic than Islamic, inviting sharp comments and fierce opposition of the orthodox.²

The evolution of Sufism up to this point, I mean until the middle of the 3rd century Hijra, may be called inherently Islamic.

So long there was no fixed process of these quietists, and devotionalists developed on the lines of Islamic canons and according to the mystic Khwaja Khan, the doctrine of *Tasawwuf* were taught by songs. Zonmon Al Misri (860 A.D.) was the first to put their doctrines in form; Juniyad of Bagdad (910 A.D.) to systematise the same and Abu Bakr Shibli to preach them officially.

Thus far I have developed my subject in such a way as to give my readers a definite idea that Sufism was a purely Islamic growth. Nicholson in his famous "*History of Arabic Literature*" traced the growth of Sufism to the influence of Christianity, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, and Buddhism. E. G. Browne in his still more famous "*Literary History of Persia*" tells us that Sufism grew out of congenial soil in the mystic environments of Persia. The theosophical publications from Adyar on the subject of Sufism in Sindh postulated that the Hindu Vedanta was the "via Illuminativa of Sufism and the "broken lights" that fell on their paths in India diverted them to newer paths.

Nicholson says that the early quietists of Islam were influenced by the Euchite Christians of Syria "who magnified the beauty of constant prayers, abandoned their all and travelled as poor brethren." Biographies of Sufi Saints abound in graphic conversations between Muslim devotees and Christian ascetics which bear traces of Christian influence on their life. Nicholson says that the monastic life

2 Abu Bakr Shibli defined Sufism as—As Sufi la Yara Fid darain ma Allah Ghyar Ullah Sufi does not recognise any one except Allah in both the worlds.

Abdul Hasan Nuri says—At Tasawwuf Yataraku Kulli hazzin nafs Sufism is renunciation of all pleasures of the body.

which has been rigorously prohibited by the Prophet had come into the Sufi ordination possibly from the proximity of, if not, association with the Christian monastic orders which the latter took from the Buddhists. Buddhism flourished in Balkh, Transoxiana, Turkestan long before their incorporation by Islam. It is a fact that the Buddhists had carried their teachings amongst the Muslims who now came in touch with them. The legend of Ibrahim which has been quoted above—a prince of Balkh who one day suddenly cast off his royal robes and became wandering Sufi, was nothing but a replica of Gautama's renunciation of his kingdom. Goldziher in his famous treatise on "*The Influence of Buddhism upon Islam*" writes that the doctrine of "fana" (annihilation) is nothing but Buddhist '*nirvāṇa*' and the system of "stations" on the road thereto bears a close resemblance to Buddhism. By that time i.e., between 800 A.D. and 860 A.D. the Greek theosophy flowed into Islam through the Catholicity of the Abassid Khalifas from the Christian monasteries of Syria, from the Persian Academy at Jundeshpur in Khurdisthan and from the Sabians of Haran in Mesopotamia. It is really significant that Zun nun of Egypt who first worked up the floating theosophy of Sufism into a system was by birth a Christian, by race a Coptic or Nubian and by adoption a Muslim. It is equally significant that the Muta'zzalite rationalism filtered into Islam after it had come in touch with the Hellenistic ideas through its association with Alexandrian speculation.

However plausible and learned may be the arguments of those eminent scholars, I do hold that one need not seek for the origin of Sufism anywhere beyond Islam. Islam with its stern rigidity, clear commands, emphatic no-s was very congenial to the growth of Sufism. From the earliest days of Islam we note an attempt by the Muslim sages to go beyond the path of every day Islam without completely breaking away from it; thus psychologically interpreted, the attitude of the seers of Islam was to find out some sort of sanction from the Quran, so that they might follow their religious convictions without much torment of conscience—for Islam would not suffer any departure—not even by a dot from the orthodox interpretations of the recognised Divines.

Theirs was the attempt to live within Islam, but to think beyond Islam and act beyond its ritualist code. In short, they continued to offer lip-service to the established religion while as they progressed, they modified and softened the dogmas in such a way as to suit their own spiritual needs. Interpretation of some of the verses of Quranic revelations were carried to such an extent that "*Allah*" the god of

warth and mercy was depersonalised and worshipped as an abstract idea under the title of "*Al-Haq*"—the Truth. That this interpretation did not find favour with the orthodox *Ulama* is proved by the way in which they sought to repress the Sufis and rationalists when they tried to express their attitude of mind in terms of action.

From quietism to mysticism it is not a long run, and from mysticism to pantheism it is still a nearer approach. Islam with its absence of a metaphysical background was a fruitful soil for the growth of pantheism. And when Semitic Islam conquered Aryan Persia, we find that the Aryan Monism of Persia in which "God ceases to be a Being external to the individual and Law is no longer a command imposed from without" offered her an excellent stage of development. Had not Islam come in contact with Aryan metaphysics or Greek intellectual abstractions, we cannot hazard what would have been the course of Islam inspite of the attempts of early ascetics or mystics to give it a safety-valve compensating her bankruptcy in metaphysics.³

In Arabia there might have been another prophet to soften her unquestioned faith in metaphysics or there might have been a religious war as in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Ethics of Semitic Islam mixed up with Aryan metaphysics of Persia blossomed forth into the beautiful Pantheism which is known by the general name of Iranian Sufism.

The first step from theosophy to Pantheism was taken by a Persian, the celebrated Bayazid (875 A.D.)—son of Zoroastrian tutored by a Kurd. He introduced openly the doctrine of "*Fana*"—self-annihilation and in a charmed moment he exclaimed, "I went from God to God while they cried from me in me, O thou I."

In his Pantheistic vein he felt, "Verily I am God there is no God except me; so worship me." When he conceived the unity of worlds by his side, he cheered himself; "I came forth from Bayazid-ness, as a snake from its skin. Then I looked, I saw that the lover, beloved, and love are one, for in the world, by unification all can be one." Or in other words, "I am the wine-drinker, I am the wine and I am the cup-bearer."

In course of a century after the great Bayazid had passed away, Sufism which in Arabia was simple quietism and asceticism passed

3. Shaikh Abu Said Abul Khair (1040 A.D.) went to the length of believing in the doctrine of Tanasukh (Transmigration), Naksh (re-incarnation) into the body of animals (Maskh), Vegetables, (Faskh) or minerals (Raskh). Abu Muslim of Khurasan actually based his arguments on *Suratul Baqara* on the doctrine of re-incarnation. This is certainly an instance of the influence of the Aryan doctrine of transmigration of the Soul.

through natural stages of mysticism and theosophy only to become pantheism and monism through its contact with the Persian Aryanism. On the other hand what was at the outset only a form of life adopted by the individuals whose spiritual needs communicated to a small group of friends, could not be satisfied within the ethical limits of Islam, in course of time became a monistic system—a school for saints organised between *Pir* and *Murid*—master and disciple.

The doctrines of these saints soon began to be collected and systematised in treatises such as the *Qutul Qulub* by Abu Talib Makki (996 A.D.), *Kitab-ul-Lumma* by Abu Nasar-al-Sarraj, *Risala* by Qashay-riyya etc. The moment the doctrines began to be collected, there arose sects amongst the Sufis and in a short time we find the Darweshis, Adawiyyas (1163 A.D.), Qadiris (1166 A.D.) and Rafias. The Mevlevis were a Sufi order formed by the great Persian mystic Jala-luddin Rumi with whom pantheism remained a living faith tinged with his characteristic melancholy tone (1273 A.D.). He desired in his pantheistic mood to go back to God from whom he emanated under the allegory of a flute crying to go back to the bamboo stock from which it was separated.

“Oh hear the flute’s sad tale again
Of separation I complain
Ever since it was my fate to be
Thus cut off from my parent tree,
Sweet moan I live made in the pensive sigh
While men and women join my cry.
Man’s life is like this hollow rod;
One end is in the lips of God
And from the other sweet notes fall,
That to the mind and spirit call,
And join us in the All in All.”

The Sufis by that time became targets of attacks of the orthodox order owing to their free thinking and pantheistic ideas. Thanks to the efforts of great Ghazzali, the Sufis could win a secure position in the Islamic world; Ghazzali interpreted the Islamic theology from a mystical standpoint and he reconciled it with the sayings of the Sufis by giving it a metaphysical background. It was he who gave the “relations” (*Kasuf*) of the mystics a place by the side of the “traditions” (*Taqid*) and “Reason” (*Aql*) as a fundamental principle of the faith. Thus the orthodox was constrained to tolerate the worship of saints, miracles of the “*Awliya*” and veneration of tombs of holy men, through the strict interpretations of Shariat could never permit the same.

In Persia the Sufis found a very convenient soil, and the phenomenal progress it made could be read in the contemporary poetry of Iran. Imagery, allegory and fantasy which are distinguishing characteristics of Persian poetry received forceful treatment in the transcendental out-pourings of the Sufi writers of the period. Of them Abu Said Bin Abul Khair of Khurasan expressed the relations between man and God and that between beauty and intoxication in most enchanting terms. "The real basis of their poetry," says Von Kramer, "is a lofty ethical system which recognised in the purity of heart, charity, self-renunciation and bridling of passions, the necessary conditions of eternal happiness." Attached to this we find a pantheistic theory of the emanation of all things from God and their ultimate reunion with Him. In his famous *Masnavi* Jalaluddin Rumi wrote:—

"God is the sole reality (Al-Haq) and is above all names and definitions. He is not only the absolute Being but also absolute Beauty. It is the nature of Beauty to desire manifestation, the phenomenal universe is the result of this desire in which God says, 'I was a hidden treasure and I desire to be known, so I created creatures in order that I might be known.' Human soul belongs to the spiritual world and is ever seeking to be reunited to its source. Such union is hindered by the bodily sense, but it can be enjoyed at times before death by a stage called 'Hal', ecstasy, where the veil of sensual perception is rent asunder and the Soul is merged in God."

There is yet another direction in which Persian Aryanism influenced the Semitic Islam, I mean in the direction of the doctrine of salvation through the preceptor. It is well-known that to an Aryan, the relation between the sensible and the real world has been brought by a series of incarnations in which the Creator himself comes to teach the Law to the Created. But according to the Semitic conception it is an Angel, generally Gabriel, that brings the message of the other world into this. The Aryan doctrine of incarnation and personal relationship between the visible and invisible through the agency of a visible medium, was very favourable to the growth of the idea of "*Murshid*" and "*Murid*" (Master and disciple) in Persia. In fact this doctrine carried to its extreme length has supplied to the philosophic background of the development of Shi'ism in which Ali and the Imams are more or less the anointed interpreters of the messages of God. They hold that the secrets of the messages of God and Islam lie not in the lines of the Quran, but between the lines, and more often beyond them. The Prophet initiated only his immediate disciples into these secrets. Thus Ali was the first to whom Muhammad confided the secret of inner Islam, and from Ali it was transmitted to the twelve

Imams. The Imam divulged these secrets of spiritual effulgence to those only whom he considered fit to hold this message and this process was handed down from generation to generation round which grew the doctrine of "*Murshid*" and "*Murid*" in Islam in a wider form under the caption of *Pir Muridi*.

In short Shi'ism thus interpreted, as Mukhtar holds, is nothing but a highly Aryanised interpretation of Islam where the Prophet and Imams are more or less divine incarnations.

The pantheistic doctrine of Iran in which every thing is a manifestation of God and there is nothing apart from Him was very favourable to the growth of the conception that the highest bliss lies in the ultimate union with that Impersonal Being from which the Creation has emanated. The secret of this process through which this union can be attained is known, as the Aryan thinks, only to the souls that have been *illuminated*. Thus to an Iranian, the idea of association with a Being more developed and more illuminated approaching the highest impersonal Being, was but a logical process of the Aryan theory of incarnation. Carried further, this process conceived that the illuminated Soul of the teacher acts as an intermediary between the Creator and the created. The Aryan believes that the miraculous powers of the Illuminated Soul of the *Pir* (Guru) may be brought to the use and advantage of the disciple. This belief in *Guru* (*Pir*) has been carried to an extreme length when Hafiz propounded.

"Drown your carpet into wine, if your *Pir* says so;

For your guide knows the way and its destination."

The most hateful thing of Islam, I mean wine, even may be indulged in, if *Pir* so desires; Guru was thus given a place far above the covenanted message. The curtain that lies between God and man may be lifted only by the *Pir*, and in Persia in one form Sufism ultimately resolved itself more or less almost into a worship by the *Pirs*.

By the 13th century when Islam came in direct touch with Indo-Aryan mind in India we find the fullest development of Sufism in this direction.

Islam had already come in touch with India through her conquest of Sind, that mystic Sind which was the meeting ground of so many cultures and civilisations from the very ancient times. Sind was pulsating with new thoughts of *Advaita* philosophy of *Saṃkharāchārya* when Muhammad bin Qasim conquered the land. Forty years of Arab rule historically is nothing but a romantic episode in Indian annals, but from the standpoint of culture it saw the acclimatisation of Islam on Indian soil. Soon the conquering hordes melted away and dissolved into Indian soil which from the standpoint of culture became

the foundation of a movement, the exponents being Lal Shah, Firuz, Baholul and others. A transcendental Vedantic tone pervades the out-pourings of these Muslim saints, from which have been quoted quatrains of following centuries including those of the famous Shamsuddin Tabrez.

For two hundred and forty years after Muhammad bin Qasim, there was practically no physical movement of Islam towards India, when India was rather making a silent headway into Islam through the translation of her philosophy during the Abbasid period. Beginning from Mansur, Indian philosophy filtered through the Sanskrit schools that were established in Baghdad by the converted Barmaki family, especially by Barmaki Yahayah, Khalid, and Jafar; innumerable references to Sanskrit works have been found in the contemporary Muslim literatures both of Arabia and Persia. By the time Ghazni conquered Hindustan, Indian philosophies specially *Yogaśāstra*, Logic, Astronomy, and medicine had become great favourites with the illuminati of the Islamic world. Al Beruni may be regarded as a great transmitter of Indian ideas into Islam: The four centuries that followed Al Biruni, was the period when Persia was synthesising Islam in the east, while Turks were vulgarising Islam in the north East. It is significant that Islam was spread in India through these Turko-Afghans who had no great cultural heritage to boast of and themselves were but half-Muslim in the strict sense of the term. If Islam was making her physical conquest of Hindustan through these Turko-Afghans, India was Hinduising Islam through the elastic and absorbing tendencies inherent in her culture. Contemporary writings of Amir Khusrau, Malik Muhammad Jaisi, Kabir, Kamal bear innumerable traces of Hindu influences on the Muslim thoughts of the Turko-Afghan period of Indian history. As the movement towards domicilisation of Islam continued further, we find the importation of purely Hindu ideas into the citadel of Islam through the incompletely converted Hindus. The advent of Darweshes, Awliyas and saints like Mainuddin Chisti, Ruknuddin, Nizamuddin Awliya and others, had a peculiar significance in Indian cultural history.

The Eastern mind is generally a worshipper of personalities more than of principles. The existence of these saints naturally attracted the local population through their piety, sympathy and spiritual effulgence. Towards the latter parts of the Turko-Afghan period, the Hindus were gradually softening their exclusiveness and approaching their Muslim brethren who had by then become permanent factors in their society. This process of fusion found a partial consummation in the rise of saints like Rāmānanda, Chaitanya, Kabir, Nānak, and

others, to name a few only. These Hindu and Muslim saints found ready response amongst the followers of both the communities. The "Dargas" (Resorts) of Muslim "Pirs" as well as the "Akhras" of Hindu "Sants" became the common resort of the followers of both the faiths by the 15th century. The Mahdi movement which prophesied the appearance of a Regenerator of Islam under the title of *Al-Mahdi* after 1000 years of Muhammad gave a new pulsation inside Islam. A number of celebrities claimed the dignity of *Al-Mahdi* both in India and in the north-west. Thus from the middle of the 10th century Hijra in India there were three liberal movements of Islam working systematically, one to the north working from the south through Sufis like Lal Sah and Firuz, the second through Mahdists like Bayazid, Islam Shah and Shaikh Mubarak, and the third working through Kabir, Jaisi, Kamal, and others; while a Hindu movement was traversing the whole of Hindustan working through saints like Chaitanya, Nānak and others. The great eclectic system called the *Din-i-Ilahi* was nothing but a wave of this thought-process working through the great Imperial theosophist, Akbar. This eclectic process continued till the middle of the 17th century when it collapsed with the death of *Dara Shuko*. This was the most fruitful period of the growth of Sufism in Indian history gathering around the personalities of the saints and master-minds of Islam in India, and no history of Sufism can be written without a thorough study of the life and time of *Dara Shuko*.⁴

I have already pointed out that ex-Arabian Islam had by that time been steadily developing the idea of worship of *Gurus* through the personalities of illumined souls and that it had been more or less reconciled with orthodox sects outside Arabia through the efforts of Imam Ghazzali. Once on Indian soil, this idea of worship round the personality of a higher being ultimately dwindled into the worship of that personality—a process which was also not unknown in Persia. From his childhood an Indian is impregnated with the idea that—"God wants a union with Him that wants Him. Every heart is an abode of God. But he has eyes yet he sees Him not; he has legs yet he approaches Him not. He has capacities yet they are latent." An Indian is always told that these latent capacities can be developed so that he might see, feel, and approach Him; but it must be through a medium. Therefore he must associate himself with a soul that is already illumined. Thus both the Hindus and Muslims approached the

4 In *Sirr-i-Akbar*, *Dara Shuko* used many of the Indian terms to represent the Sufi ideas and *vice versa* which clearly show the influence of Hindu ideas that penetrated into Islam.

illuminated souls of saints to show them the way to God and draw them to a plane of higher existence.

As no two men are similar to each other in all respects, so no two souls are similar in their spiritual experiences. Each of these illuminated souls spread his illumination to his immediate circle in his own way and thus round about each saint grew up a special organisation or religious order infused with the spirit and form of the personality who occupied the centre. In no time in India there grew up different orders and organisations round the personality of different saints the most important of them being:—

Chistia, Shattari, Qadiria, Naqas Bandia, Surhawardia and Be-Shara

There are again orders within orders and sub-orders, too, according to the experiences of Pirs and disciples.

The Indian Sufi Orders rest entirely on the *Pir* or *Guru*. It is expected that every *Pir* shall win for his disciple the Divine favours through his advanced powers. There is the system of initiation to give the first ordination amongst the Indian Sufis in imitation of Indian initiation (मन्त्रदान). But the Sufi ceremony is much simpler—the disciple is to place his hand on that of his master and swear allegiance to him. After initiation the Sufi is supposed to be a traveller (*Salik*) in the path (*Tariqat*), and he is to plod on and to observe the rules of the order including ritualistic observances such as Zkr, Remembrance (ध्यान).

He has then to pass through several stages of spiritual existence before he reaches his destination and they are *Nasut*, *Malakut*, *Jabrut*, and *Lahut* almost similar to the Indian *Annamaya Koṣa*, *Prāṇamaya Koṣa*, *Jñānamaya Koṣa* and *Hiraṇmayaya Koṣa*. Different names have been given to these stations by different Pirs such as *Shariat*, *Tariqat*, *Maarfat* and *Haqiqat*—these too have Indian synonyms for them such as *Karmakāṇḍa*, *Upāsanākāṇḍa*, *Jñānakāṇḍa* and *Samādhi*.

In the stage of *Shariat* the disciple moves in the circle of rules of conduct as laid down by the Law of Religion; in the second stage of *Tariqat* he enters into the spirit of Laws; in the stage of *Maarfat* he understands the relation between God and his creations: In the final stage of *Haqiqat* he completely dissolves into God. In this ecstasy he cries out as did the great Sufi—

“I am God, I am God, I am God.”

Editorial Notes

On the 16th June 1944 Sir P. C. Ray, the esteemed President of the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society, breathed his last at his residence in the University College of Science, Calcutta. The following resolution was passed by the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society at its meeting held immediately thereafter :—

“Resolved that the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society records its profound sense of grief at the lamented death of Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., D.Sc., Ph.D., its much respected President for the last ten years. His was a dedicated life—dedicated to all noble causes tending to benefit his countrymen and relieve suffering humanity. His numerous and magnificent contributions to the advancement of his countrymen in widely different fields will be gratefully remembered by them and will be an endless source of inspiration to them in future times. The Greater India Society has been benefitted along with numerous other institutions by his sage guidance and his generous patronage.”

An obituary notice of the late lamented scientist, patriot and humanitarian will be published in the next number of this Journal.

* * * * *

On the occasion of the first visit of Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the new Director-General of Archaeology in India, to Calcutta, the members of the Greater India Society met him in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 14th June 1944 at 4.45 p.m. At the meeting Dr. Wheeler, in response to the request of the Hony. Secretary, accepted the office of Vice-President of the Managing Committee of the Society and he further agreed to give a general permission to the officers of his Department to contribute papers to the Society's Journal, subject only to the normal rule of his preliminary inspection before publication. To indicate its high appreciation of the wholehearted support accorded to the Society by Dr. Wheeler, the Managing Committee authorised the Hony. Secretary to present him with a select list of the Society's publications including a complete set of its Journal up-to-date. These were presented through the intermediary of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, the then Curator of the

Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and member of the Managing Committee of the Society.

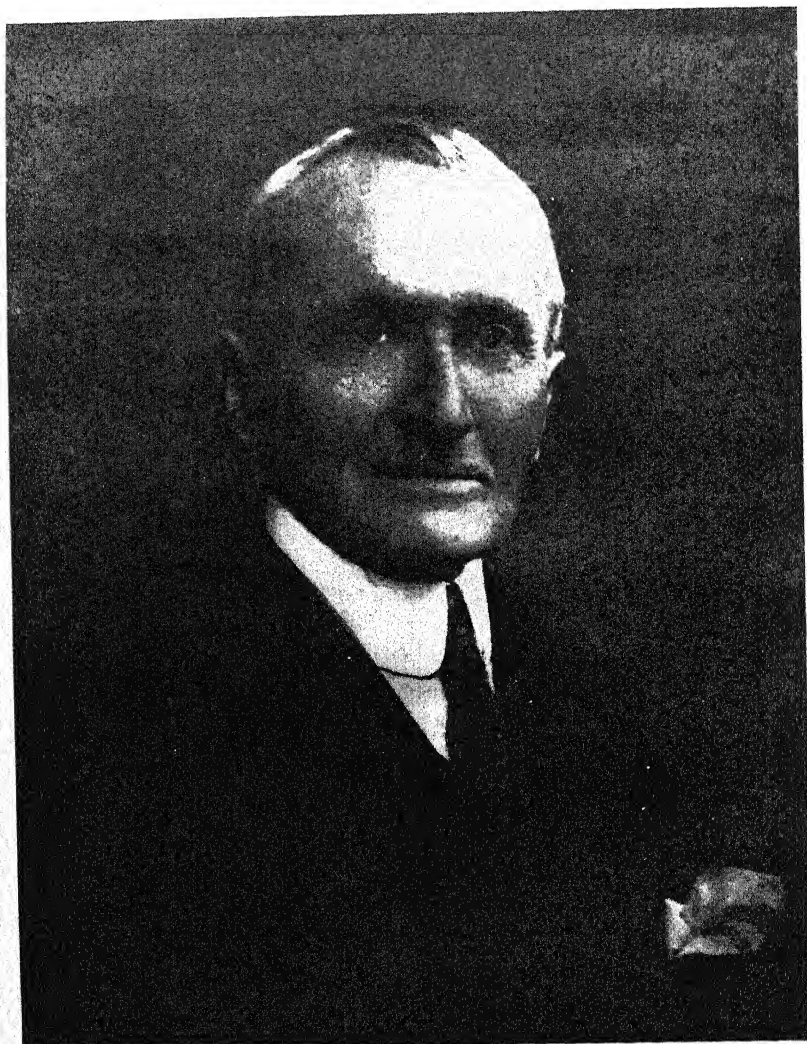
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The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society gratefully acknowledges the receipt of the following donations since the beginning of the current year :—

Dr. Narendra Nath Law	Rs. 100/-
Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt	Rs. 50/-
Dr. U. N. Ghoshal	Rs. 50/-

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In sending out the present Stein Memorial Number of the Journal of the Greater India Society, the editor expresses his grateful thanks to the scholars from and outside India who have contributed articles inspite of the difficult conditions prevailing at present. Some of the articles which were received too late are reserved for publication in the next number of this Journal which will also be issued in honour of the late great explorer and Orientalist.



Sir Marc Aurel Stein
(1862-1943)

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The Early Population of Lou-lan-Shan-shan

By DR. F. W. THOMAS

Concerning the small state of Lou-lan or Shan-shan, situated to the south and south-west of Lop-nor, i.e. the Lop lake and salt-encrusted morass in Chinese Turkestan, a certain amount of information was made accessible in 1756 by the publication of Deguignes' *Historie générale des Huns*; see Vol. I, Part II, pp. 11-2. The particulars adduced were mainly, as in the case of the other states, those recorded in the *Former Han Annals* of the Chinese; but Marco Polo's account of the 'town of Lop' was also brought in. Thus the geographical situation of the state, as lying mostly south of the terminal course of the joined Tarim and Cer-cen rivers where they approach Lop-nor and as having on the 'south-east' the mountains and peoples of 'Tibet,' was adequately defined, and the mainly desert character of the land was described. In the text (chapter no. 96) of the *Annals*, translated by A. Wylie in 1881-2,¹ the gazetteer-like entries are accompanied by a historical relation wanting in the case of most of the other states. This was due to the initial importance of Lou-lan, as immediately adjoining the new Chinese north-western frontier resulting from the expulsion, c. 121 B.C., of the Hsiung-nu domination from what is now Kan-su. After the first relations, soon established, with China the state had to trim its policy in the face of the Hsiung-nu power, still able to threaten through the Chü-shih territory

1. *Journal of the R. Anthropological Institute*, X, pp. 20-73, XI, pp. 83-115; also (1926) De Groot, *Die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit*, pp. 46-182.

on the north, and the fluctuations of Chinese control over Turkestan and Pamir kingdoms. In 77 B.C. it had to admit a Chinese military colony under a Commandant-general, and, with its name changed to *Shan-shan*, it remained for the most part subservient to China. For the period 25-239 A.D. the *Later Han Annals* and the *Wei-lüo*,² both translated by Chavannes, afford some further information. During the period c. 25-73 A.D., when Chinese influence was in abeyance, there were in Turkestan, besides Hsiung-nu interpositions, also interstate struggles, in the course of which, after c. 60 A.D.,³ two states became predominant in the regions south of the desert, namely *Shan-shan*, which extended as far west as the Niya river, absorbing the former small kingdoms of Calmadana (Cer-cen), Hsiao-wan in the southern mountains, Caq'ota (Ching-chüeh) on the river, and Parvata (Jung-lu, Pe-pin) on the upper reaches of that river, and on the other hand, Khotan, which became its neighbour. From c. 73 A.D. *Shan-shan* was again dominated by China; and some few years after 119 A.D. a new military colony was established at a junction of routes in the desert region north of the Tarim river, receiving the name *Lou-lan* in memory of the ancient designation of the state.⁴ As long as that colony existed, i.e. at least until the first half of the IVth century A.D.,⁵ *Shan-shan* must have been under the control of some Chinese power; and even later it was subject to interferences and invasions from that side.⁶ But with the widening scale of events its inconsiderable extent and remote situation in the south-eastern corner of Chinese Turkestan reduced its significance: from c. 445—c. 670 A.D. it played a part only as an appanage of the Tu-yu[k]-hun kingdom, of the Tsaidam and Koko-nor,

² *T'oung-pao*, II. vi (1905), pp. 519-571 (*Wei-lüo*), viii (1907), pp. 149-234 (*Later Han Annals*).

³ See Chavannes, *Later Han Annals*, p. 172.

⁴ On the Chinese practice of so reviving old appellations, see Pelliot, *BEFEO.*, VI, p. 371, n. 2.

⁵ For the dating see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 426.

⁶ In 441 A.D. *Shan-shan* was occupied during a whole year by An-chou, a prince of the Pei-liang dynasty of Kan-su, which had ruled (from Sha-chou to Liang-chou) from c. 397-439 A.D., when it was overthrown by the Imperial Wei. An-chou's army, sent in advance of the proposed invasion of Kao-ch'ang by his brother Wu-hui, drove out the *Shan-shan* king Pi-lung and waited in the state capital, I-hsiu: see O. Franke, *Eine Chinesische Tempelinschrift*, pp. 17-8 (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1907).

itself owning a loose allegiance to a Chinese power,⁷ and thenceforth only as a province of Tibetan (c. 670-1035), later of Tangutan (c. 1035-1226 A.D.), rule. Marco Polo found one 'large town,' no doubt on the site of the modern Carkhlik; but its inhabitants were Musalmans.⁸ Later the whole country, as far as its western border, became deserted; and it is doubtful whether the early population has left any descendants at all, the now existing settlements being all of modern origin and even the 'Lop-lik' fishing-people of the river reaches being immigrants, of Turkish speech.⁹

Modern interest in the country was primarily geographical, centred upon problems relating to desiccation and the situation and area of Lob-nor. There has supervened a keen archæological interest, kindled by explorations of desert sites, which have brought to light remains of a once-flourishing civilization. Suggested by Sir Sven Hedin's discovery of a desert site representing the ancient Chinese military colony of Lou-lan, the expeditions of Sir Aurel Stein, carried out with remarkable enterprize, endurance and insight, archaeological and geographical, have reconstructed, so to speak, the extinct civilization in many of its chief aspects, administrative, social, religious and artistic, and have recovered relics of utensils and fabrics used in common life. The finds also illustrate and amplify the historical information furnished by Chinese literature: and there are collections of flints, etc., from prehistoric periods. All these matters, with a full summary and discussion of the historical, geographical and topographical notices, have received masterly treatment and illustration in Sir Aurel Stein's personal narratives and lectures and in the splendid folio volumes of his three official reports, *Ancient Khotan*, *Serindia*, and *Innermost Asia*, with their accompanying volumes of plates and portfolios of maps.

In the Lou-lan colony, which is once or twice mentioned as a 'big town,'¹⁰ the interests and business were mainly Chinese; but even there were certainly native officials¹¹ and other residents and edifices of their religion, which was Buddhist. Elsewhere the Chinese seem to have been merely individual trading parties¹² or occasional officials: in general the government and administration was native. The predominant religion was Buddhism, and the religious archi-

7 In the year 676 A.D., on the occasion of the Emperor Kao-tsung's northern progress, Cer-cen received from the Chinese the new name (Sa-p'i) Po-hsien; see L. Giles, *BSOS.*, VI, p. 830.

8 See Yule's *Marco Polo*, ed. H. Cordier, I, pp. 196-7.

9 See Stein, *Serindia*, p. 335.

itecture and art (both style and subjects) were in thorough conformity with the practice of the Indo-Hellenistic, 'Gandhāra,' art of the Indian north-western frontier regions: possibly in some cases of non-traditional portraiture there may be features reflecting native physiognomy.¹³ There are some remains of forts, Chinese, and, at a late period, Tibetan.

It is in the writings¹⁴ that the conditions most clearly reveal themselves. The materials and forms are for the most part of Chinese origin, being oblong (those with Indian script in many cases wedge-shaped) wooden slips, or squarer rectangles of wood or leather, or pieces of silk or paper, folded when containing letters;¹⁵ but there are some few leaves or fragments in Indian form and material, perhaps left by visitors in shrines. From Krorayina the bulk (c. 1000 items) consists of Chinese documents, calendars, letters, etc., with a relatively few fragments of literary works; here the interest is almost exclusively Chinese, though there are references to individual natives, in some cases officials, and foreigners of various races. The relatively few documents in Indian Kharoṣṭhī script and in an Indian Prākṛit dialect are likewise concerned with business. In the only other area of copious finds, namely the Niya river region in the extreme west of the kingdom, the proportion of Chinese to Indian is reversed: here the Indian items number about 700, while those in Chinese are some 10 or 12. These Indian pieces,

10 See *infra*, p. 8.

11 See Stein, *Serindia*, p. 380.

12 In the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Caḍota the 'Chinese' or individual Chinese are not infrequently mentioned (see Professor Rapson's Index): in no. 35 an arrival of traders from China is expected.

13 Sir A. Stein notes (*Serindia*, p. 507) a semi-Semitic appearance of some faces in the Mirān paintings.

14 The Chinese documents from Krorayina and Caḍota, the Stein collection, are edited by Chavannes in *Les Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*. (1913): some few also in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 537-542. Others from Krorayina, Hedin collection, are edited by Conrady in *Die Chinesischen Inschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedin in Lou-lan* (1920). The Kharoṣṭhī documents are edited in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein—transcribed and edited by A.M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson and E. Senart (and P.S. Noble)* (1920-9): two small fragments are included in Conrady's work, and some further documents, trouvailles of Stein's third expedition, are edited by Dr. T. Burrow *BSOS.*, IX.

15 For studies of the forms and materials see Stein, *Serindia*, pp. 764-6, and Conrady, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-74.

rescripts, deeds, lists, accounts, letters, expose the administrative working of the state, the occupations and interests of the people and the epistolary usage in official and private communications: there are numerous directions for official procedures, records of legal transactions, lists and accounts, some few reports of religious concerns and a number of references to relations with foreign peoples, notably that of Khotan.¹⁶ Very important linguistically are some of the plentiful designations of office or function or class and the mass and system of personal names. The phraseology, legal and other, including elaborate forms of address, is for the most part idiomatically Indian.¹⁷ This current use of Indian script and language, by, say, 100 different writers, some of them quite minor officials, shows that in the period, say c. 150-350 A. D., of the Kharoṣṭhī documents the Indianization of the native life in Shan-shan was on a level with that in the states of Indo-China, namely Campā, Fu-nan, and Cambodia; equally with these Shan-shan may be regarded, along with the other states of Chinese Turkestan, as a part of 'Greater India'. As late as 400 A.D., the Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hsien could write¹⁸ that—

'The king of this country honours the law (of Buddha). There are some 4000 priests (sc. monks), all of the Little Vehicle belief. The laity and the Śramaṇas of this country wholly practise the religion of India, only some are refined and some coarse (in their observances). From this proceeding westward, the countries passed through are all alike in this respect, only the people differ in their language (*Hu words*). The professed disciples of Buddha, however, all use Indian books and the Indian language.'

Rapid acclimatization of a complete culture introduced from abroad has, of course, many instances. In Shan-shan, as in the Indo-Chinese countries, the earliest Indian influence may not have been Buddhist, but there and in Chinese Turkestan generally it seems to have become exclusively so. The strange fact that the early Chinese histories at a time when Buddhism was known in China itself never note anything Buddhist or Indian as existing in Turkestan exemplifies a perhaps essential difference between the Chinese expansion and the Indian, the former being political and well informed in practical

16 Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, XII, pp. 41-54.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-8.

18 See Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. xxiv; cf. Legge's translation of Fa-hsien, pp. 12-14.

matters, but indifferent to the psychology of the dominated or foreign peoples, the latter propagandist and educative.

The ethnography of a long extinct population comprizing at the earliest known period, as Lou-lan, only 1570 families. 14,100 individuals, and subsequently, as Shan-shan, never perhaps reaching 50,000, may be considered of slight interest. But the matter has wider bearings and raises questions in regard to the peopling of the numerous other statelets of Turkestan. Moreover, it presents itself in a relatively practical aspect which, being linguistic, may involve distant and ancient connections. For the interpretation of the mass of documents particularized above and for understanding the culture and history a view of the ethnic character and language of the people proves to be indispensable.

Here it should be premised that the expanded Shan-shan state may not have been at first ethnically or linguistically uniform. The territories acquired from about the middle of the 1st century A.D., may have been at a different level of culture; and the circumstance that the mass of the records comes from those territories, when not from the Chinese military colony, may mislead. It is, however, clear from the excavations at Mīrān, where, or in which vicinity, was the capital of the original small state, that in course of time, at any rate, things had evened out: and any discrimination, if such is to be made, could come only at the end, not at the beginning, of the inquiry. With a view to clarity, however, we may distinguish (1), by the name *Lou-lan*, the original state, both before and after its rebaptism by the Chinese, (2), by the name *Shan-shan*, the enlarged kingdom, resulting from the expansions after c. 60 A.D., (3) by the well-attested form *Krorayina*, the Chinese military colony of Lou-lan, founded some years later than 119 A.D.

Concerning Lou-lan the *Former Han Annals*, compiled from official records extending down to c. 25 A.D., states as follows¹⁹:—

'The soil is sandy and salt. There is accordingly little tillage, and people are consequently dependent upon the agriculture of the adjoining kingdoms, whence it is sought to procure grain.

The kingdom produces jasper (jade), and there are there abundance of reeds, tamarisks and willows, *Katalpas* [probably a kind of poplar] and white herbage.

The people with their herds of cattle seek out the places with water and vegetation. There are in the country asses and

¹⁹ See Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 25; De Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

horses and many camels. People understand how to manufacture weapons, and these are similar to those of the Jo (D $\frac{1}{2}$ a, Ni)-ch'iang.'

This description of a semi-nomadic people, practising agriculture only in a few places where the ground was not excessively sandy or salt-impregnated does not preclude the existence of some 'towns.' The same account mentions strongholds and a capital, Yü-ni, residence of the king; also in the centre of the kingdom, in a fertile area, a 'town' I-hsün or I-hsiu, where in 77 B.C. the Chinese established a military colony and subsequently maintained a 'Commandant-general' (*tu-wei*). Furthermore, there must always have been, as Sir Aurel Stein cogently argues,²⁰ an important settlement in the region of the modern Carkhlik, favoured by a relatively extensive cultivable area and by its situation in regard to a probably ancient tricle of communication with the Tsaidam and Koko-nor regions of north-eastern 'Tibet.' Later we find it stated that here in Han times was the actual capital, the real bearer of the name 'Lou-lan.'²¹

We must here studiously avoid some much discussed topographical questions²² relating to the three places and retain only the generally accepted identifications of (1) I-hsün, or I-hsiu, with the place known in Tibetan times as 'Little Nob' and with the Mirān site, (2) of Ch'i-t'un, the place of the 'Seven Military Colonies,' as either actually at I-hsün or in its vicinity,²³ (3) Shih-ch'êng, 'Stone-town,' mentioned in T'ang times as corresponding to the old Lou-lan town with Carkhlik Hsüan-tsang's *Na-fu-po* and the Tibetan 'Great Nob.' As to whether the original capital, Yü-ni, was actually at I-hsün/I-hsiu and not somewhat further north and nearer to the Tarim embouchure into Lob-nor,²⁴ whether the capital was ever in fact at Carkh-

20 *Serindia*, pp. 311-3, 475 n.

21 See Beal, *op.cit.*, II, p. 325.

22 It may be sufficient to refer to Stein's *Serindia*, pp. 320-3, 326-8, where are references to discussions by Grenard, Chavannes, Herrmann and Pelliot: add, however, the observations of Dr. L. Giles in *BSOS*, VI, pp. 828-830.

23 It is likely that 'Seven military colonies' involves an error and that the site was that of the original military colony of 77 B.C.: see Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, XI. vii (1916), p. 116. In *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 590, 1934, p. 96, it has been pointed out that *Ch'i-t'un* is perhaps a corruption of the native name, in Tibetan writing *Se-ton* and *Btse-thon*, of a place where was the royal residence of the subsequent Tu-yu (k)-hun rulers of Shan-shan: that place will have been adjacent to the capital, I-hsün.

24 It seems possible that Yü-ni, stated apparently (see Stein, *Serindia*,

lik or was named Lou-lan, we may suspend judgment. What is certain is that Krarayina, though a 'big town,' and an important Chinese station, was never the state capital.²⁵

The ruling persons in the state, listed in the *Former Han Annals* according to its practice, were—

- (1) 1 'Vassal-chief, support of the state' (*fu-kuo*);
- (2) 1 'Vassal-chief for repelling the *Hu*' (i.e. in this case, clearly, Hsiung-nu barbarians);
- (3) 1 'Commandant-general (*tu-wei*) for Shan-shan';
- (4) 1 'Commandant-general for war-measures against Chü-shih';
- (5) 1 'Right' and 'Left *Ch'ieh-chü*';
- (6) 1 'Chief for war-measures against Chü-shih' ('Smite-Chü-shih chief');
- (7) 2 'Head-Interpreters,'

This list, ethnographically not very instructive, may be historically misleading. No. (3) is probably the above-mentioned Chinese 'commandant-general' at I-hsün/I-hsiu. No. (2) the commander against the Hsiung-nu, paralleled in several others of the states, and nos. (4) and (6), who operate against the more or less contiguous state of Chü-shih, are no doubt, of Chinese instigation, since in pre-Chinese times the states did not resist the Hsiung-nu, and with Chü-shih, except when it was coöperating with the Hsiung-nu against the Chinese, Lou-lan had no quarrel. The Chinese originals of the titles have in general no specially local significance; but it is noticeable that no. (1), who would be the king himself, honoured by the Chinese with the title 'Vassal-chief,' has in his attribute, 'support of the state (*fu-kuo*),' the original of the subsequent Prākṛit-Kharoṣṭhī expression *raja-dharag'a*=Sanskrit *rājyadhāraka*. The 'Head-Interpreters,' in Lou-lan and most of the other states, may have

p. 326), to be on the lake at the embouchure of the river, was rather in the vicinity of the present fishing village of Abal, which has always been an important place of passage for travellers and whence in modern times (*Serindia*, pp. 349-350) Mirān was recolonized.

25 In Kharoṣṭhī documents No 678 the 'great town' (*mahanta nagara*) clearly is Krarayina; but elsewhere (nos. 5,155,250,296) there is an addition of 'at the king's gate' (*rayadvarammi*), and the reference must be to the capital, known from positive statement (see L. Giles, *op.cit.*, p. 829), as well as from the above-noted occupation by An-chou's expedition, to have been at I'hsün/I-hsiu. A glance at Sir A. Stein's map suffices to show that Krarayina, a Chinese junction settlement far away in the desert to the north-east, can never have been the capital.

resulted from diversities of language in Chinese Turkestan itself, but may as well have been due to the development of the transit trade.

This single non-Chinese term *ch'ieh-chü*, which previously (*Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 75) has been equated to the *cojhbo* of the Kharo-ṣṭhī documents may require reconsideration²⁶ in view of its occurrence at an earlier date as a Hsiung-nu official title. It might be a relic of the domination by that people, unless it is merely an ancient instance of the borrowing of titles (*yabgu*, *k̄hagan*, *tu-tuq*, *tegin*, *cigši*, etc.) prevalent at later periods in Central Asia. For 'Right' and 'Left' a Hsiung-nu derivation would suggest the meanings 'West' and 'East.'

Among the states in touch with Lou-lan the first place belongs to that of Chü-shih, the Guchen-Turfan region of the easternmost T'ien-shan. The two were certainly not contiguous, except in the sense that there was nothing between: to the south of Chü-shih the great Sho-na desert extended to the now absolutely barren Kuruk-tāgh range of mountains, south of which again the Lou-lan territory, even if it extended so far to the north of the Tarim river, was likewise mainly desert, though probably less desiccated and eroded than at present.²⁷ But communications over the Kuruk-tāgh were, as Sir Aurel Stein has shown, more feasible than they now are; and their actuality is proved by the fact that in the early period of Chinese penetration Chü-shih and Lou-lan were always, in the fluctuations of pressure from the Hsiung-nu and the Chinese, either acting together on the one side or the other or driven into mutual conflict. The actual first pretext for Chinese military intervention in Chü-shih and Lou-lan was an accusation of the two states jointly as having molested the early Chinese communications with the Western Countries.²⁸

On the north-west there will have been some natural intercourse with the line of statelets (Shan/Mo-shan=Singer?; Wei-li, on the Konche river; Wei-hsü=Khorla) adjoining the 'northern route,'²⁹ the course of which was dictated by the reaches of the Kuruk and Konche rivers on their way to join the Tarim, and which linked the

26 See *infra*, p. 32.

27 On the Sho-na desert and increased desiccation of the Kuruk-tāgh and the region to its south, see *Serindia*, pp. 707-8, 1155 n. 334, 407-8.

28 See Wylie, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-7, De Groot, *op.cit.*, pp. 55, 57.

29 Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 101, De Groot, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-5, 163-4, Stein, *Serindia*, pp. 333-4, 1230-2.

country to Khorla (for Karashahr) and Kuca. In Chinese times it was, of course, a great route. The western boundary of Lou-lan consisted of the terminal marshes of the Tarim and Cer-cen rivers, behind which stretched the main extent of the impassable, central, Taklamakan desert. South of the Cer-cen river the desert of c. 198 miles in width, which is the first stage of the 'southern route,' is, as flanked by the river, not formidable.³⁰ Near the southward bend of the river was the comparatively large oasis of Calmada/Cer-cen, which itself communicated with the northern statelets by a route curving round the eastern part of the desert and skirting the Lou-lan boundary.³¹

Calmada the western neighbour of Lou-lan, was culturally a midway point. In the *Former Han Annals* the account of Shan-shan ends with the statement that—

'Shan-shan lies on the Han road [sc. the great southern route]. Westward to Cer-cen is 720 li (c. 150 miles). From Cer-cen onwards the five cereals are everywhere cultivated, and soil and vegetation, animal-rearing, industries and war-measures are like those in Han [China]. What is different will be specified.'

That Calmada was not quite on a level of culture with the oasis settlements on the rivers further west, from which it was separated by a broad space of difficult sand desert,³² appears from the remark of the Buddhist envoy Sung-yün, who concerning its population of c. 100 (in Former Han times 230) families, says³³ that—

'They know not the use of oxen or ploughs in their husbandry.'

The above considerations would render intelligible the expansion of the Lou-lan kingdom as far west as Calmada and would confirm a view, if otherwise maintainable, that in the further westward extension as far as the Niya river the state absorbed a population of a somewhat superior culture and possibly distinct race. But that is not here propounded.

30 Particulars of route in Grenard, *Mission Dutreuil de Rhins*, III, p. 219; account of journey, Stein, *Serindia*, pp. 304-6; *Desert Cathay*, I, pp. 326 sqq.

31 On this route see *Serindia*, p. 420, *Innermost Asia*, p. 765.

32 See Beal, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 324-5, for Hsüan-tsang's account: details in Grenard, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 218-9.

33 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxxxv, Chavannes, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, III, p. 391.

On the east Lou-lan was separated from the Chinese border in Kan-su, with its important military garrison town, Tun-huang/Shachou and the smaller settlement of Shou-ch'ang (now Nan-hu), some 80 li (c. 16 miles) further west, by the really formidable Kum desert, which could well have constituted an ethnical barrier. There were, however, two routes, very long (c. 300 miles) and toilsome, of communication, the one following partly the southern shore of Lop-nor and ultimately reaching Tun-huang, the other, south of the desert, winding rather high up round the slopes of the barren mountains and descending to Shou-ch'ang/Nan-hu, where the river Tang ho debouches, and so to Tun-huang/Shachou.³⁴

The valley of the Tang-ho was, and is, a route from western Kan-su over the great, snow-crowned, Altyn-tāgh range of mountains to the Tsaidam of north-eastern 'Tibet,' which was the main habitat of the Jo (Dža-ch'iang) people who had also, as has been mentioned, some fairly easy descents in the region of Carkhlik. The same people was, as the *Former Han Annals* reports plainly from local information at each point, regarded by the Turkestanis as furnishing the population (which must have been extremely sparse) of the 'Tibetan,' southern, side not only of the Altyn-tāgh, but of the whole great mountain barrier, the Kuen-lun, at least as far west as the longitude of Khotan. But also on the northern, Turkestan, side they were found by the Chinese immediately to the west of the Yang barrier at Shou-ch'ang (Nan-hu). It is denied that any groups of people on the long mountain route to Carkhlik were likewise Jo (Dža)-ch'iang; but at Carkhlik they extended even across the high road and they also bordered on Calmada/Cer-cen and the mountain state of Hsiao-wan, to the south thereof.³⁵ This is not the limit: for according to testimony which we need not here consider, since we are carefully leaving out of sight the country west of Shan-shan, there were

34 On these routes and distances see Stein, *Serindia*, pp. 549 sqq.

35 These particulars concerning the Jo-ch'iang are mostly stated in the main account: see Wylie, *op.cit.*, p. 23, De Groot, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-3, and also Chavannes in *T'oung-pao*, II, vi (1905), pp. 526, n. 8, where the statement concerning extension across the high road differs from the translation of De Groot. The fact of bordering on Cer-cen and its southern neighbour may imply that the later Vāshshahri, between Charkhlik and Cer-cen, was originally a Jo-ch'iang station. The extension of the Jo-ch'iang along the whole hinterland south of the mountains is displayed in old Chinese maps also and in that accompanying Professor Herrmann's *Die Seidenstrassen*.

remnants of Ch'iang, if not of Jo(Dža)-ch'iang, people in the southern mountains even as far west as the Karakoram and the Pamir.

The general upshot is that there was one only people, namely the Jo(Dža)-ch'iang, known to have been in any close contact with the Lou-lan population, and that this contact existed along the whole southern border of the state and was in part intimate. If we were inclined to suppose an ethnical affinity between the two long extinct peoples, objection on the ground of physical type is obviously inapplicable. Even should we find in the ancient hunter temporarily exhumed by Sir Aurel Stein in the far north of the Krorayina region and photographed and discussed in *Innermost Asia*, pp. 264-6, photograph 173, a Lou-lan physical type, neither his physiognomy nor the mode of burial would be inconsistent with a Ch'iang affinity. Among the Tibetan-speaking people of north-eastern 'Tibet' the physical type, is, as Mr. Joyce has suspected,³⁶ not that commonly recognized as 'Tibetan'; and the same may be said concerning peoples of eastern Tibet and other Tibeto-Burmans of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands. This is attested by statements of travellers, who refer to aquilinity of nose, straight eyes, absence of the 'Mongol fold' or prominent cheek-bones, and in some cases exceptionally tall stature.³⁷ Concerning the mode of burial also something might be adduced.

Nevertheless, the fact that the Chinese evidently regard the Lou-lan people, despite similarity of culture and actual intercourse, as distinct from the Jo(Dža)-ch'iang is not negligible; and that the Ch'iang, like the Tibetans, were people of the mountains and high plateaux, whereas the Lou-lan people belonged to the plains, may have an ethnical significance. Hence a solution of the problem not to be found in the geographical and historical situation, must be sought in the written indications and the language. A systematic study of the material could not yet be contemplated: but we may consider some relevant particulars.

I. *The territorial system and the general administration*

From the numerous communications addressed in the king's name to administrators in Caḍota, whence comes the bulk of the Prākṛit material,—with one or two, of similar tenour, from Krorayina—it is evident that the central authority exercised a close control and

³⁶ See *Serindia*, p. 1361 (4).

³⁷ See Przevalsky, *Mongolia* (trans. E.D. Morgan), II, p. 110, Rockhill, *Journey through Mongolia, etc.*, p. 234, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 74, Bonvalot, *Across Tibet* (trans.), I, p. 80, II, pp. 8, 97.

frequently interposed even in minor matters: the system was not feudal or federal. Nevertheless a trace of prior local independence may be detected in the use of the term *rājya*, 'kingly rule,' 'kingdom,' in the sense of 'administration,' 'sphere of administration.' Thus in no. 272, a royal rescript to a *cojhbo* posted in Caḍota, we find the expressions *tusya rajiye* 'in your (singular) kingdom (sc. administration province),' and *tumahu rajammi*, 'in your (plural) kingdom,' the latter recurring also in no. 229 and perhaps again in no. 109. Analogous phrases are—

adehi rajade, 'from the there (=where you are) kingdom' (nos. 164, 223)

tatremit rajammi, 'in that same kingdom' (no. 40)

Caḍota-rajā, 'the Cadota kingdom,' (no. 415).

In a number of instances it becomes accordingly disputable whether *raja* and *rajya* (=Sanskrit *rājya*) unspecified denote the Shan-shan kingdom as a whole or a particular province; and a partly analogous doubt may arise in regard to the use of the adjective *rayaka*, 'royal.' The alternative is explicit in—

bahi rajade rajarajade, 'from outside administration(s) [and] from kingdom (sc. central) administration(s)' (No. 714)

where the context precludes the renderings 'foreign' and 'home.' In no. 31 *para raja* may signify not 'foreign kingdom,' but merely 'other province.' In accord with this use of *raja* (*rājya*) the provincial heads of administrations are entitled *rajadhara*, 'kingdom (or rule)-holding,' a rendering, as we have seen, of the Chinese *fu-kuo*; and matters and persons connected with the administration are *rajad-(dh)areya* (Sanskrit *rājyadhāreya*): examples—

rajadaraga mahatva, 'administrative heads' (no. 120);

rajadareya mahatva, id. (no. 582. cf. no. 637);

yaṃ kalammi tuo cojhbo Tamjaka rājadhārāga hudesi, 'at what time you, *cojhbo* Tamjaka, were (or became) administration-holder' (no. 625).

If it should be suggested (as in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 45) that this use of the term *rājya*, 'kingly rule,' was a survival from the period when Caḍota was an independent state, that would perhaps not conflict with the sense of the word *cojhbo*, which does not seem to have connoted any special function. This appears from the use of the plural in application to two persons of whom the second was probably not a *cojhbo* in any technical sense: we find, e.g.—

cojhboana Kranaya Lpipeyaṣa ca (no. 88)

cojhboana Yitaka Vuktoṣa ca (no. 576).

But in addresses—

cojhbo Kranaya soṭhaṃgha Lpipeyaśa ca (nos. 19, etc.)

cojhbo Yitaḥa toṃga Vuktośa ca (nos. 3, etc.)

Lpipeya is not styled *cojhbo* and has the distinct official designation *soṭhaṃgha*, and similarly Vukto is not a *cojhbo*, but a *toṃga*. It is to be inferred that *cojhbo* was a title, not of office, but of dignity, 'my lord' rather than 'governor,' and so could be applied to high officials generally. If so, the usage is markedly similar to that of *jo-co*, *jo-bo*, *co-jo*, and the apparently equivalent *rtse-rje*, 'head chief,' in the same country some c. 400 years later, namely in letters to Tibetan officials. The persons are sometimes addressed with definite titles, 'Councillor,' 'Home Minister,' etc., only, but sometimes with *jo-co*, etc., either preceding these or in substitution for them.

It is, however, certain that the local *cojhbo*'s or 'great *cojhbo*'s' (no. 585, *maha-cojhbo*) did not hold office by virtue of hereditary relation to originally independent chiefs: they were appointees of the central government—

ekisya etaśa raja picavidemi

'to him (*cojhbo* Somjaka) singly I have committed the administration' (No. 272)

and the phrase *varṣavarṣi rajadhāreyaṇa*, 'year-by-year administrators', (No. 637) may indicate that in theory the appointments were for a single year.

Furthermore, in addresses and also in other lists the *cojhbo* is sometimes preceded by other ranks, which therefore are of higher consideration. In joint addresses *Kori Viryavaṃta* (nos. 40, 64) and *Cuvalayina Malbhuta* (no. 55) are so preferred; and elsewhere a like precedence is accorded to *Kori Rutraya* (no. 49), *K. Togaja* (no. 570), *Cuvalayina Puṃṇavaṃta* (no. 517), and c. *Tiraphara* (nos. 582, 732), sometimes along with *ogu*'s, *caṃḡura*'s, *guśura*'s, etc., who obviously belong to the central regime. The *Kori*'s (pl. in no. 692) and *Cuvalayina*'s are therefore superior ranks in their local residence, the latter, but probably not also the former, term, connoting certain functions.

A frequently mentioned subdivision is the 'hundred' (*śata*), noted in the edition (Index) with reference to Sir A. Stein's *Serindia*, p. 65, where attention has been drawn to Colonel Trotter's account of the three *sad*'s of Wakhan, which are administrative divisions, each of 100 houses.⁸⁸ In Shan-shan the 'hundreds' attested in Kro-

⁸⁸ See Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkund*, p. 276.

rayina as well as in Caḍota, are uniformly mentioned as 'X's *sata*'; and Dr. Burrow (*The Language.....*, pp. 97; 124-5) has satisfactorily explained the Prākṛit appellation *śatavita* (Sanskrit equivalent unascertained), as denoting the person in charge of a *śata*; the *daśavita*, frequently mentioned in connection with *śatas*, but also elsewhere in obvious connection with '10,' he equally well explains as one in charge of a 'Ten,' and in no. 170, unless *daśammi* is a mistake for *śadammi*, the 'Ten,' itself is cited.

To what do these numbers refer? In *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, I, pp. 282 sqq., and previously in *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 563, 1934, pp. 96-7, the Tibetan system of 'thousand-districts,' (*ston-sde*) under 'thousand-commanders' (*ston-dpon*), also '10,000 districts,' has been described and shown to have existed during Tibetan times in the Western Kan-su also and the Shan-shan area. But the matter has much wider bearings: it may be said that a system of 'thousands,' 'hundreds,' etc., existed among most of the 'barbarian' peoples of Central Asia with which the Chinese came successively into contact. The earliest recorded example is that of the Hsiung-nu, c. 200 B.C., with their 24 commanders of 10,000, who severally appointed their own commanders of 1,000's, 100's and 10's. The Sien-pi Tu-yu[k]-hun had commanders of 1000's and 100's. One of the Pamir states has inherited from Turk times an official hierarchy of *mingbāshī*, *yūzbāshī*, *onbāshī*, which, however, may be the ordinary military ranks.³⁹

The unit may have varied from case to case, being in the case of nomads tents, elsewhere houses, in both cases households or families. That in the states of Chinese Turkestan some such system prevailed during the earliest recorded period is evident from the statistics of families and persons given in the *Former Han Annals*, the number of persons being commonly an exact multiple, oftenest by 7, sometimes by 6 or 8, of the number of families, and accordingly an estimate. The number primarily known to the Government was therefore that of households: and the like will have been the case in Shan-Shan. In *Acta Orientalia*, XIII. pp. 52-4, it has been proposed to understand the appellation *tomgha* in the Prākṛit documents as equivalent to the (non-Tibetan) *stom-gyañ* of the Tibetan and meaning 'thousand-man', which would yield a likely etymology of *tom*, *stom*, = Tibetan *ston*, '1000', Tokhari *tmām*, '10,000', Tibeto-Burman Hsi-hsia *tu*, '1000', Turk *toṃan*, '10,000'. This would harmonize with the fact that in no. 96 are mentioned 9 *tomghas* at

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Caḍota, six of them as supplying c. 20 men each: also the *tomghas*, who in the small states will not have been very numerous, were sufficiently important for one or other of them (e.g. *Vukto* in nos. 11, 23, 28, etc.) to be sometimes addressed in royal missives along with the *cojhbo* and to have subordinates (*vaṭhayaga*, nos. 357, 387, 622).

With the 'hundreds' are associated 'districts' (*prateja*, etc. = Sanskrit *pradeśa*), prevalently (e.g. in nos. 41, 173) in such a way that in lists of things or persons in, or from, a number of 'hundreds' one *pradeśa*, sometimes two, but usually a relatively small number of *pradeśas*, is included, being on the average level of a single 'hundred' in respect of the number or quantity of the items mentioned as in, or from, them. Elsewhere *pradeśas* occur in their own lists. There seems to be no instance of a 'district' containing a 'hundred'; but frequently persons in charge of 'tens' are mentioned. It follows that the 'districts' were outside the 'hundreds'; and since the latter will obviously belong to the more thickly populated town-areas, it follows that the districts were sub-urban, or country, areas, with sparser population. They are nearly always cited as 'X's *pradeśa*, where X, in one or two instances indentifiable with a *tomgha* X, may be rather an official than a landowner. Possibly however, the contrary is to be inferred from the frequent association of *vasus* with *avana*'s and *ḱilme*'s.

As explained in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, pp. 63-4, the *avana*'s, *avana*'s (Sanskrit *āpaṇa*), were 'markets', being villages usually almost entirely uninhabited except on market-days, a feature still widely characteristic of Chinese Turkestan, and also of Kan-su and other parts of China.⁴⁰ That there was no Turkestan word *avana* meaning simply 'village' has been proved elsewhere. The special character of the *avana*'s is manifested by their appellations which predominantly refer to their chief traffic, e.g. *Yave-avana*, (grain) 'barley-market', *ajiyama* (*ajima*)-*avana*, 'butter etc. (Sanskrit *ājya*)-market', *trasa-avana*, 'live-animals (Sanskrit *trasa*)-market', and perhaps *peta-avana*, 'sheep (Sanskrit *petvan*)-market': similarly in India we have 'edibles-market', 'garland-market' (*bhaḱṣya-mālya-āpaṇa*). It cannot,

⁴⁰ For a lively description see Forsyth, *ibid.*, pp. 62-3: in greater brevity we read (p. 254), 'nearly all the villages I have seen in East Turkestan, consisting of a number of small hamlets, scattered about the plain. Each hamlet consists of a number of scattered farmhouses. In a central position is the bazar, with long rows of stalls on both sides of the road, somewhat resembling that of an Indian village, but absolutely untenanted except on the weekly market-day.'

however, be proved from the documents that the *avana*'s were in practice restricted to any particular products, nor was it to be expected that they should be so. Nor could cultivation in the vicinity of the *avana*'s be unusual; and in fact the distribution of tillage in connection with them is several times pointedly in question, the best example being in no. 713, where a certain Vasu is accused of holding up lands in the *ajima-avana*.

The *kilmi*'s or *kilme*'s (Adjective *kilmici*, *kilmeci*, *kilmemci*, 'person of a *kilmi*, *kilme*') and the persons belonging to them are normally (e.g. nos. 16, 32, 254, 279, 297, 393, 422, 431-2, 468, 474, 495, 581, 621-2) connected with *avana*'s. But sometimes the *kilme*'s (nos. 256, 358, 482) or *kilmeci* are mentioned as belonging to some individual, usually an important person (in no. 38 a head of a monastery, *viḥāra-pāla*); and in one instance (no. 374) a distinction is made between the tax paid from the *rājya* (sc. the public lands, etc.) and that from the *kilmeci*'s. It might therefore be that the *kilmeci*'s were serfs of rich men, working on their local estates; and certainly in connection with farmlands (nos. 713, 734), winecrops (nos. 358, 431) and sheep or cattle (no. 519). Some speciality is indicated by the statement that men do duty in the 'hundred,' women in the *kilme*—

*puruṣa jamma śataṃmi dharma kareṃti, striyana*⁴¹ *kilmi dharma kareṃti* (no. 46)

Furthermore, we find (nos. 165, 211, 714) the expression '*vega* (*vega*)-*kilmi* women,' and (no. 481) '*vega-kilme* duty (*dharma*)' on the part of a woman. It has been suggested (*Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 63) that the *vega-kilme* work was connected with irrigation, but that depends upon an etymology.

No help is afforded by deriving *kilme* (Dr. Burrow, *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 673-5) from the 'Tokhari' word *kālyme*, taken in the sense of 'district.' Not to mention that *kālyme* is attested at a date some c. 400-500 years later than *kilme*, its meaning is not 'district' (Sanskrit *deśa*), but 'point of the compass' (Sanskrit *diś*), in which sense it constantly recurs, so that, but for a suitable etymology propounded by the editors,⁴² it might be suspected of being a loan-word = Greek *klīma* in its geographical sense. The fact that the *kilme*-people were freely moved about (no. 639) and that they were so often dependants of important persons at the centre, e.g. Kala (prince) Puṃñābala (no. 331), K. Kuṣṣuda (no. 307), Ogu (noble) Puṃñayaśa (no.

41 Irregular syntax, not unexampled.

42 *Tocharische Grammatik*, by E. Sieg and W. Siegling in conjunction with W. Schulze, §4, b.

209), O. Aśoga (nos. 254, 621), O. Viharavala (no. 393), O. Ajhuraka (no. 639), O. Bhimasena (no. 734), and the fact that the *ḱilme*'s themselves were so often attached to *avana*'s suggest that the *ḱilme*'s were not permanent establishments at all, but encampments of retainers of great men sent out for profitable, seasonal employment as cultivators, harvesters, gleaners, and for other work (in no. 621 a *ḱilmeci* is a potter, *ḱulala*): the case of the *chun-pa*'s, 'field workers,' etc., in Tibetan times may have been similar.

Many of the documents are concerned with *palpi* and the remitting of it to the central government: the term covers a variety of objects, such as animals (camels, etc.), corn, ghee, textiles, *cāṃdri-ḱaṃmamta*, etc., and there are several references to *palpi-dharma*, 'the (customary) law of *palpi*'. That *palpi* was equivalent to 'tax' was stated in *Acta Orientalia* XIII, pp. 46, 62-3, and the same meaning was adopted by Dr. Burrow⁴³ with a revised transcription *palyi* in place of the editors' *palpi*. Dr. Burrow was thus able to make out a case for identifying the word with Sanskrit *bali*, the *p* being attributed to local pronunciation: and this view, which certainly is recommended by the lack, down to the present, of any suitable alternative, was shared by Professor Lüders,⁴⁴ who, however, has since,⁴⁵ by identifying the word with the *pali* (*chin[n]a*) of the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription of much earlier date, virtually renounced the proposed explanation of the *p*. However, the meaning is sure.

The fact that in no. 714, as noted in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, pp. 5-6 and n. 2, three classes of persons, namely *Vasu*'s or *Vasu*'s, *Ageta*'s and *Yatma*'s, from all the provinces are required to repair annually to court for inquiry into the taxation law groups the three classes as interested in taxation. The understanding of the *Vasu*'s or *Vasu*'s as landowners, or at least persons of considerable standing, is clear in general from the manner of their precedence and also from particular references: for instance, in no. 25 a *Vasu* is addressed by *Kala* (Prince) *Kunala*, in no. 622 by *Kala* (Prince) *Puṃṇabala*, and in no. 393 *Ḳoṛi Rutraya*, who usually is of higher consideration than a *cojḅho*, is '*Vasu K. R.*' Moreover, in a majority of instances where a particular *Vasu* is concerned the matter relates to transactions in some *avana*, = village as defined. It is therefore probable that *Vasu* was landlord, or other head, of a

⁴³ *JRAS.* 1935, p. 675; cf. p. 670.

⁴⁴ *BSOS.*, VIII, pp. 637, sqq.

⁴⁵ *Acta Orientalia*, XVIII (1939), p. 16.

village: without immediate etymological implication we may compare the term *Spa*, applied in Tibetan times to local magnates in the Khotan region.⁴⁶ Of the *yatma* we can say for certain that he was concerned with corn (nos. 146, 349, 430, 439), its collection into store-houses (*draṅga*, no. 272), and its despatch (nos. 305, 307); but he also collects and conveys other dues (*palpi*, nos. 275, 374), and is mentioned, moreover, (nos. 23, 546), as despatching camels. The *ageta*, since he is often *vasu-ageta* or *yatma-ageta* and seems to partake of the functions of the *Vasu* or *Yatma*, may have been in either case the 'subordinate,' 'deputy' or 'agent': his title may be the native equivalent of the Prakrit *vaṭhayaga* (Sanskrit *upasthāyaka*), the name of an official who, like the *ageta*, is sometimes mentioned along with his employer (*Aya Ridhaṣeṇaṣa v.*, no. 419, *Kitsaitsaṣa v.*, no. 579, *raya v.*, no. 576, *tomgha v.*, no. 622) and sometimes (e.g. nos. 189, 581, 637) without such specification.

The only other local official needing mention may be the *ṣoṭhaṃgha*. That this officer was primarily in charge of a *draṅga*, 'granary,' 'store,' etc., is evident in nos. 272, 520, 567, and has been stated in *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 45 n. 2, XIII, p. 62; but he seems also to have controlled the supply of camels for travel and transport. The etymology of the word as mentioned in the edition (Index) cannot be maintained: as pointed out by Professor Bailey (*B.S.O.S.*, VIII, p. 905), the word must certainly be connected with 'Tokhari' *ṣoṣ-taṅka*, denoting some officials who are not ministers (*amātya*). If related to Sanskrit *śruṣ*, *śruṣṭi*, *śrauṣṭi*, 'obey,' 'obedience,' 'obedient,' it implies merely loyal service, and has no special significance in regard to Shan-shan. In case the personal name *Śrustinga* (no. 593)

46 A Saka-Khotanī spelling *spāta*, understood as=*spādapati*, 'army-commander,' seems to have led Professor Bailey, *BSOS*. VIII (1935-7), pp. 934-5, to attribute to *spa* a military signification and to translate *spāta* by 'General.' Whether a form *spāta* would have been practically possible in use as a derivative of *spādapati* a non-Iranist could hardly consider. But one may ask why, if the *t* is real, it is not written *tt*? If it is what Leumann called the hiatus-removing *t*, which is in fact the case as regards the *spāta* cited by Professor Konow in *Saka Studies*, p. 182- (see the Hoernle document there cited and the accompanying Plate), why should not *spata* be one of the fanciful Saka-Khotanī spellings and represent merely *spā*? This is suggested by the fact that nothing military appears in the Tibetan contexts where *spa* occurs and, far more decidedly, by the Tibetan translation of *spā* cited by Professor Bailey. *Sde-dpon* is not a military term: it regularly denotes the civil head of a district.

belongs to the group the dental *t* might point to a co-operation of the Iranian (Zend) equivalents *šraosha*, 'obedience,' *asrushti*, 'disobedience.' It is, however, not certain that the initial *š* of *šoṭhamgha* is derived from *śr*, and the definite character of the *šoṭhamgha*'s functions is adverse.

II. Material Objects and Animals

There have been ingenious and fruitful studies of unfamiliar terms in the Prākṛit denoting such things as agricultural and other country products and procedures, textiles, articles of dress, weapons and other fabricated goods, measures and weights, legal, epistolary and other usages and expressions. From the nature of the case the success consists in tracing the terms to Indian, Iranian and other outside sources, and the things themselves may practically all belong to an imported culture, at least as regards Lou-lan. Native terms, if any, would be problematic.

We might expect to find native, or at least local, names for the jasper (jade), reeds, tamarisks, willows, Katalpas and white herbage credited to Lou-lan in the *Former Han Annals*. But such have not been found. It may be suspected indeed that the word *haṣga*, which in no. 297 denotes something that should be forwarded to the king and the giving out of which is, as also in no. 751, an offence, and a gift of which is in no. 542 a subject of accusation, should be the precious jade, jaspis, in Chinese *yü*. In the Turkī form *kash* the name of the stone is borne by the Khotan rivers Karakāsh and Yurungkāsh: allied forms are known in Mongol, etc., and others possibly connected are found even in ancient Hebrew, Greek *iaspis*, etc.⁴⁷ It follows from this that *haṣga*, even if current in Shan-shan, may have been not native in Shan-shan, but imported in the Prākṛit. The expression *cāṇdri-kaṃmaṃta* (nos. 272, 714), taken in *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 46 n. 3. as signifying jade, consists of two words, in Sanskrit, *cāndrī* and *kaṃmānta* (with loss of *r*. due to dissimilation from the preceding syllable, *dri*), meaning respectively 'moon-light' and 'working,' the latter the regular term, in the *Kauṭaliya-Arthaśāstra* and elsewhere, for industrial operations. The reference to jade is not a speculation, but is based, as was alleged, upon the unchallengeable Chinese statement regarding Khotan that—

⁴⁷ On jade in China and its names see Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*, pp. 199-240, esp. pp. 124-132; Yule-Cordier *Marco polo*, I, p. 193. Dr. Laufer's *Jade* (1912) is not largely linguistic.

'there is there a river [containing] jade. The people of the country watch during the night the spots where the reflection of the moon is intense and do not fail to find there fine jade.'

The names of the common animals, ox, sheep, horse, ass, dog, etc., are all Prākṛit, or at least Indo-Iranian, and accordingly un-instructive. Even the camel, native in Lou-lan and in the wild state still found in the Kum desert and the high Altyn-tāgh valleys, is always given his Prākṛit name (*uṭa*, *uṭha*), never even an Iranian form. Some obscure epithets are found applied to the camel, among which *akṛa* (or *kḷa*, *kṭa*) *tsa* or *amk*⁴⁸, also (in no. 590) *akṛa* (*kḷa*, *kṭa*) simply, is equated by Dr. Burrow (*JRAS*, 1935, p. 67', *The Language...*, pp. 71, 106), to a 'Tokhari' word *ākṛats*, *ākṛātsa*, meaning 'unknown', 'stupid'. It does, indeed, seem more than possible that the *-tsa* is indentic with the 'Tokhari' Adjectival suffix *-ts -ats*, etc.; but it may be suspected that that suffix is itself, like the *-ci* and *-ṣi* of group-flexion, derived from a substrate speech. As regards the particular instance, the reading of which is, as appears, difficult⁴⁸, it may be noted that the 'Tokhari' word itself requires explanation: the further form *agiltsa* (no. 422), which Dr. Burrow regards as a variant of *akṛatsa*, we might be tempted to interpret as its opposite, connecting it with 'Tokhari' *āklye*, 'tradition' 'learning'. A third similar epithet is the *puṅgebha* (*°tsa*) of the edition⁴⁹.

Dr. Burrow's ingenious suggestion (*The Language...*, p. 119) that in no. 198 the clause printed in the edition as *ḥopi varaga syati* and translated in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, p. 61, 'whatever be his turn', should read *ḥo pivaraga syati* and be translated 'whichever is fat' cannot be said to have been favoured by fortune. It is true that *varaga* and *pivaraga* run level in so far that both recur once only (*varaga*, no. 667, *pivarae*, no. 358), each with reference to camels. But the *vara*, i.e. presumably 'turn of usage' of a camel is so essential that in no. 73 the compound word *uṭavara* occurs (several times),

48 But *Kla* is the best reading; see Rapson, p. 318 of the edition.

49 These and other terms relating to camels are discussed by Professor Lüders in *BSOS*, VIII, pp. 647-651. The rare syllable read as *kla* recurs in the term *klaseṃci*, which is always used, as Dr. Burrow points out (*The Language...*, p. 85), to denote a person connected with camels. It seems possible that *kla* is actually the native word for 'camel,' and is related to Chinese *lo*, (Karlgren, *Analytical Dictionary*, No. 441, *lāk*) 'camel, the phonetic of which involves, according to Karlgren, an archaic *kl* or *gl*. *Klaseṃci* might then mean 'camel-station (sa)man.' On Hsi-hsia *lan-nōn* and other names for 'camel', see Laufer in *T'oung-pao*, 1916, pp. 20-2.

while in no. 72 there is a long list of oxen twice or thrice (*dvi-vara*, *tre-vara*) supplied (or despatched?) with water.

III. High official or social appellations

Under the Mahārāja, and in general residing at the centre, were various classes of persons obviously high in government or social status, *kāla*, *guśura*, *camṅkura*, *ogu*, *ḱitsaitsa* (°*satsa*, °*sayitsa*), *suveṭha*, *tasuca*; others are doubtful, as to whether gentile surnames or titles or occur also, or mainly, locally, e.g. *apsu*. Among these we might certainly expect to find real Lou-lan expressions; but the frequent borrowing of titles in Central Asia, as elsewhere, introduces a doubt. *Suveṭha*, *speṭha*, has a Prākṛit-like appearance and might be = Sanskrit *sviṣṭa*, *sveṣṭa* quasi 'our well-beloved', and *kāla*, 'prince', and *guśura*, may have been brought from the Indian north-western frontier. *Camṅkura*, 'mayor', and *ogu* clearly belong to Chinese Turkestan, the former being known also in connection with Khotan Buddhism. The import of several of the terms is discussed in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, pp. 72-8.

Dr. Burrow's explanation (*op. cit.*, p. 82), of *ḱitsaitsa* as perhaps connected with 'Tokhari' *ḱitsaitsañe*, 'age', and meaning 'elder,' i.e. 'member of a sort of council of elders', seems commendable, and the *tsa* might be the same Adjectival suffix as in *aḱratsa*. But evidently this group of titles awaits explanation from the language rather than *vice versa*.

IV. Names of the country and people

The name *Shan-shan* substituted for *Lou-lan* by the Chinese in 77 B.C., was maintained by them: it is used in the *Han* (Former and Later) *Annals*, in the *Wei-luó*, and elsewhere, and locally some Chinese documents (see the edition, p. 325) mention the 'king of Shan-shan' and the 'command of Shan-shan.' But it does not follow that the name was adopted by the natives.

In the Prākṛit (nos. 678, 696, 706) *Kroraina*, °*rayina*, certainly denotes the town of the Chinese colony of Lou-lan: in no. 678 the *Kroraiṃci* Camaka, though residing in Calmadana (Cer-cen), is seen from the circumstances to have belonged to the same town; and similarly in no. 370 the *Kroraiṃci* people who have fled 'there', sc. to Cadota, from the domain of the *Ogu* Alpaya will have been of that town. Hence the *Kroraiṃci* people who occupy a district (*pradeśa*) in Cadota (no. 277) are residents from outside; and this is confirmed by the fact that the only other district cited not by the name of an individual official or owner. but of a plurality, namely

that of the *Vurcugas*, was probably likewise a settlement of outsiders. Hence any designation of 'a man of Lou-lan' or 'a man of Shan-shan' has to be discovered.

It may be noted that, though in Chinese the name of the new colony, *Lou-lan*, was identical with that of the ancient state, it does not follow that in the native language, if of a different type, the case was exactly similar. *Italica* is not identical with *Italia*, nor *Hellanion* with *Hellas*, nor *Phocaea* with *Phocis*. In *Krorayina* the *-na* or *-ina* has the appearance of a suffix, as in *Calmadana*=*Calmada*. If the original name of the country was *Krorara* or *Krorar*, it would equally have appeared in early Chinese as *Lou-lan*.

The surname *Korara*, prefixed in the Kharoṣṭhī Prākṛit to the names of *Rutraya*, *Sugita*, and *Caḡvala* (see Index), can easily be one of those place(or race)-surnames which were common in Central Asia: in the documents we have *Cadota Kuṣṣu* (no. 159), and such surnames were often used (e.g. *Cugapa*, *Parvata*) as the principal name (possibly a politeness). The Adjectival forms in *-i*, such as *Cadoti*, *Parvati*, *Khotani*, are to be suspected of being due to the Prākṛit, which did not favour the simple place-name in such usage.

Accordingly *Korara Rutraya* may be 'Rutraya of Korara', sc. of *Krorara*=*Lou-lan*. But why is a man surnamed after his country even on occasions when there is no need to distinguish him from a namesake? A simple and satisfactory answer is that he is not a native, but an outsider, in the community where he is functioning. In *Cadota*, *Rutraya* is registered as *Korara*, because he is a man of an outside region, viz. the old *Lou-lan* state. But there is another *Rutraya*, who in royal rescripts to *Cadota* is often addressed as *Kori*, with precedence over the local *cojhbo*, and who may very well be the *Vasu Kori Rutraya* of no. 393. A *Kori Viryavamta* has similar precedence in other documents. A *Kori Sujada* in no. 355 seems to be at court; in no. 570 *Kori Togaja*, at court, is mentioned between *Ogu's* and a *cojhbo*; concerning *Kori Spalpaya* of no. 579 nothing is to be said; but *Kori Bhimaya* in no. 704, and *Kori Muldeya* in no. 706 are addressed by the king, at *Krorayina*, in high company; the plural *Koriyana* (no. 692, at *Krorayina*) is merely on the outside of a covering-tablet. If *Korara Rutraya* is, as the occurrences suggest, merely an ordinary person from *Lou-lan*, then *Kori Rutraya* is something far more distinguished, namely a noble, representative of the *K[r]ora* race.

As has previously (*The Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume* pp. 421-5) been pointed out, a *Kora* people is requisite for the

explanation of the name of Ptolemy's (VI, 16, §§ 2, 5, 8) '*Ottorokorrhoi*' mountains, where were the source of the Bautisos, sc. the Cer-cen river, and the town '*Ottorokorrha*'. The, evidently Indian, identification with the legendary country of the Uttara-Kurus can be explained only by the preexistence of a local name resembling *Kuru*. Of course, it cannot be affirmed that this *Kora* was for *Krora*; but, if not, the Koras were certainly the near neighbours of *Krorara*.

Mention should also be made of *Lung-lo*, *Lung-le*, the original name of 'the district of Shou-ch'ang, known in Saka-Khotan as *Sucaṃni*, sc. the modern district of Nan-hu. This being the eastern neighbour of Lou-lan and evidently in communication therewith, its resemblance in (tribal or racial?) name may not be accidental.

V. The Language

In Indo-China the native languages came ultimately to be used in writing, so that of the Cam and Cambodian, for instance, we now possess a full knowledge and large dictionaries. In the case of the Lou-lan and Shan-shan language, or languages, this did not occur. For administrative and general use in writing the Prākṛit may have been replaced under the Tu-yu[k]-hun domination by the Chinese, which was succeeded by the Tibetan; and perhaps no sentence of the native language was ever written. The available material consists merely of individual words incorporated in the Prākṛit, with perhaps one or two in Tibetan. The paucity of such words has already become manifest: and a further scrutiny may fail to discover in the Kharoṣṭhī documents any native terms for 'god,' 'sky,' 'sun,' 'moon,' 'earth,' 'water,' 'fire,' 'wind,' 'mountain,' 'sand,' 'desert,' 'lake,' 'river'; for 'camel,' 'ass,' 'wheat,' 'barley,' 'millet,' 'gold'; for 'king,' 'queen,' 'man,' 'woman,' 'child,' 'town,' 'house,' 'husband,' 'wife,' 'law,' 'custom,'; for 'body,' 'hand,' 'head,' 'foot,' etc.; or for any pronoun or numeral. In these circumstances the etymologizing of words apparently foreign to the Prākṛit and so presumably native becomes, except where the words are clearly traceable to some other known language of suitable date and proximity, an operation *in vacuo*. At one period there was a tendency, based perhaps jointly upon finds, in the Khotan region, of documents in an Iranian language and upon Mr. Joyce's anthropometrical study, to view the ancient population and speech, both of the Khotan and of the districts further east along the southern route, as of Iranian affinity. In 1925, *Asia Major*, II, pp. 251-271, and subsequently elsewhere, was adduced evidence, consisting of Proper Names, local and personal, cited in literary texts, indicating an ori-

ginal non-Iranian, apparently Tibeto-Burman, language, predecessor of the Iranian in Khotan. In 1926 a paper entitled *Names of Places and Persons in Ancient Khotan* dealt somewhat systematically with the names made available by the publication (1920) of Part I of *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart. The large number and variety of the names permitted a morphological study, a way of approach which is more or less practical even in the case of an etymologically unknown language. The general conclusion was that the substrate dialect was Tibeto-Burman, perhaps in some points less closely related to actual Tibetan than to others of the linguistic family. The term 'Khotan' in the title of the paper and the fact that in the contents no distinction was made between the Khotan kingdom and any other region along the southern route may perhaps be excused on the grounds (1) that, despite the clear exposition in Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia* (pp. 219-220, 318-345), the importance of the distinction was not yet recognized, as is otherwise also manifest, (2) that all the Kharoṣṭhī documents edited in the said Part I came from a region which subsequently, at least, appertained to the Khotan kingdom, and (3) that the names explicitly connected in the documents with Khotan are not morphologically discrepant. There was however, a number of mistakes in detail, requiring to be explicitly abjured,⁵⁰ and in certain spellings the edition, using transcriptions since shown to be unreliable, was followed without question.

The strength of the prepossession in favour of Iranian, supported by the presence in the documents of a modest number of terms probably or certainly Iranian, some few perhaps definitely from Khotan, may perhaps help to account for the conviction expressed by Professor Konow (in 'Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt,' Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1935, pp. 772-823, see p. 792 and n. 1), who declaring himself not convinced by the etymology of the title *cojhbo* as mentioned *supra*, identifies the word confidently with an appellation *cazba*, applied to a person in several of his Marālbāshī Saka documents. In regard to this it may be remarked that (1) there is no

⁵⁰ *Silpoga* (.ka), pp. 45, 52, 58, *kilma*, p. 49, *palpi*, p. 61,—these corrected in *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 53, XIII, pp. 46, 62-3; *soṭhaṅgha*, p. 51—corrected, *Act. Or.*, XII, p. 45, XIII, p. 62; *ajhate*, p. 59, *tanuvaga*, pp. 49, 57, 61—Iranian and Prākṛit; *Khrom Ge-sar*, p. 65—see *infra*, p. 73; *Bhotinagara*, p. 49. Pirova, pp. 46-7, 57, 61—discussed elsewhere. See also remark *infra*, p. 77.

evidence that *cazba* is a title, official or otherwise, and not a prefixed surname of another kind, (2) *Marālbashī* is separated from the nearest point where *cojhbo* is attested by c. 300 miles of impassable desert in a direct line and much more by any practical route, and *cazba* is not attested anywhere between, (3) in date *cazba* is posterior to *cojhbo*, as regards attestation, by some c. 500 years (or more), (4) *cazba* has two *a*'s where *cojhbo* has two *o*'s. It is, no doubt, true that etymological connections can overleap spaces and times; but demonstration of them should not, one would think, do so, and clearly it should not neglect such difference in the vowels. If it should eventually appear that *cazba* is connected with *cojhbo*, that could only be, one would suppose, through borrowing from a common source.

In these circumstances we can appreciate the independent judgment of Professor Lüders, who from a study [*Acta Orientalia*, XVIII (1939), pp. 26-34] of the names in connection with phonological matters concludes as follows:—

'The preceding observations do not, of course, in any way claim to exhaust the question as to the language to which those foreign names belong. I was concerned only to draw attention to a point which seems to have been hitherto little or not at all regarded and which perhaps may some day contribute to a solution of the question. That the language is, as Burrow seems inclined to assume, the Tochari appears to me as little credible as its connection with the Tibetan, which Thomas conjectured. That we are concerned with an Eastern-Asian language is to me, indeed, probable, and I might hold it for not excluded that some at least of the names belong to the Chinese linguistic branch' [then follow a few particulars].

If our old and respected colleague had had his attention drawn to the article published in 1926, he would, no doubt, have admitted; what perhaps is undeniable, that the matter of the names had been treated at considerable length and somewhat systematically from the point of view which he mentions: and he might even have allowed that some particular matters, such as final *-e* and *-i*, in their Declensional relation to *-aya*, *-eya* and *-iya*, the frequency of names in *-ge*, etc., had received attention, and further, that the system of the nomenclature had been contemplated. It cannot be said that Professor Lüders' view is in general concurrence with that put forward in the article, and some scrutiny of it may be permissible. But first a word may be interpolated concerning the theory of Dr. Burrow, to which he refers.

From what has been cited *supra* it is indubitable that the Lou-lan people had contacts on the north with the Chü-shih (Guchen-Turfan) kingdom, where the language was rather certainly 'Tokhari'. On the north-west also, if the little states of Mo-shan, Wei-hsü and Wei-li (the two last, at any rate, usually connected with Karashahr) were also of 'Tokhari' speech, there was some slender chain of 'Tokhari' linking Lou-lan to the known 'Tokhari' areas of Karashahr and Kuca. Thus Lou-lan might be supposed a further link in the chain, and the words *aḵratsa* and *ḵitsaitsa* mentioned *supra* might be regarded as linguistic evidence of connection. Dr. Burrow⁵¹, however, admitting the paucity of such lexical evidences, seems to lay most stress upon phonological similarity, such as lack (not affirmed as absolute) of voiced consonants, aspirates, and spirantic χ θ f , and of v , palatalization of l , n , and perhaps t , before i , also elisions of vowels: he adduces, further, the use of certain suffixes. Dr. Burrow's rapidly stated evidences could not be examined except at considerable length and with close regard to their correctness, completeness and validity. The absence of mediae in the Shan-shan language seems highly questionable: lack of spirants χ θ f , of v and h , together with regular insertion of y between certain consonants and $-i$ or $-e$, appears in a Tibeto-Burman language not remote from Lou-lan and partly in Tibetan itself. The matter of the suffixes will in part be considered *infra*. Here, as the theory is still rather vague, it may be relevant to make three general observations: (1) The 'Tokhari' language is not known to us, except for a few names of perhaps that origin in impossible Chinese transcriptions, until a period posterior by c. 400 agitated years to the Kharoṣṭhī documents. (2) the language was in all probability intrusive at some period in Chinese Turkestan and is likely to owe some of its remarkable phonetic and other peculiarities to a native substrate, and (3) if its highly complex structure existed contemporaneously with the Kharoṣṭhī, the latter should have shown some definite traces of it. Unfortunately we have not for any period any appreciable quantity of 'Tokhari' personal names.

Returning to Professor Lüders' exposition, we cannot contest the supposition that some of the personal names in the documents may be Chinese. But there are limits to this: it should be remembered that from Krorayina have come more than 1000 Chinese documents contemporary with the Kharoṣṭhī, and that these contain

51 See *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 667-675, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents...*, (1937), pp. viii-ix.

numerous Chinese personal names, the forms of which seem to have been perfectly intelligible, for the most part, to the accomplished editors.⁵² The identification of Chinese names in the Kharoṣṭhī would therefore be to Sinologist scholars not so difficult that a considerable quantity of them could escape detection. This therefore could be put to an early test: non-Sinologists can somewhat help themselves reflecting that no such names can contain a 'suffix'. The phonology does not seem promising.

As a curiosity, it may be noted that *per contra* one or two Shan-shan native names occur in the Chinese. Thus there is a 'Kun Na-sien of the Lou-lan state,' who in Kharoṣṭhī would perhaps have been *Kunasena* (a frequently recurring name), and an often mentioned *Ma-li*, clearly identical with a likewise often mentioned *cu-pu Ma*, who may be a namesake of the *Mahārāja* Mahiri and perhaps also of a Kharoṣṭhī *Mariśr[ga]*.⁵³

Professor Lüders, in holding (p. 32) that the majority of the names were really dissyllabic and that in origin they were neither Indian nor Iranian, may be considered, more especially in view of his reference to Chinese, to approximate to the view that the language was of the monosyllabic kind. But this is not explicitly stated, and in fact Professor Lüders speaks not of Chinese, but of the Chinese linguistic branch.

52 See the above-noted publications of Chavannes and Conrady.

53 See Conrady, *op. cit.*, p. 98 (*Kunasena*), p. 191 (*Mariśr*). Ma Li is mentioned on pp. 83, 88, 94 ('of Lou-lan'), 97, 140; and *cu-pu Ma*, pp. 91, 98, 140, is regularly identified by Conrady as 'Ma (Li)', which seems correct, because in Chavannes nos. 746 and 747 a '*cu-pu Ma-Li*' is named, in no. 747 entitled also 'charged with the administration of the pass'; in Conrady, p. 135, is mentioned a *ts'ung-yüan-wei*, Ma Li, possibly again the same person.

The expression *cu-pu* (*tšiu-b'uo*, Karlgren, nos. 1244, 764) is in the documents regularly translated ('le comptable' = 'responsible' or 'accountant') by Chavannes, but not elsewhere, in its slightly modified occurrence as an official title, 152 A.D., in the state of (Kh)yü-mi, the eastern neighbour of Khotan: here he writes (*T'oung-puo*, II. viii, p. 173) *tehou-pouo*, the character being Karlgren, nos. 1244 and 764 (*tšiu-b'äk*). Conrady never translates. The difference between the Chinese character for *b'uo* and *b'äk* being minute, it seems likely that in both cases the same native title is transcribed, a fact of some significance in view of the situation of the two places, Krorayina and (Kh) yü-mi, adjoining the eastern and western extremities of the Shan-shan state.

At this point some facts may perhaps be usefully adduced. In the *J.R.A.S.* 1928, pp. 91-96, has been published a considerable collection of personal names of c. VIIth-VIIIth centuries A.D. belonging to the Tun-huang region. Passing over those which are Tibetan, we find that (1) the personal names are nearly all dissyllabic and (2) they are mostly preceded by a surname, usually a gentile or clan name, which gives us two types—

- (1) for a man: *Bam Kun-tse, Kvag Tam-tam*
- (2) for a woman: *Soñ Sam-ñañ, Kvag-za Ji-lim*

The *za* following *Kvag* in (2) is certainly a Tibetan addition, since it was almost universal in formal names of Tibetan wives and other ladies: it is simply = *bza*, 'woman,' 'wife.' *Samñañ* is certainly Chinese: it means 'Third-woman (sc. daughter?),' this numerical type having many examples; and *Soñ* is the family or clan name. The reduplication form, *Tam-tam*, is common perhaps not under all gentile heads. Most numerous and widely represented is the type *Kun-tse*, with *tse* as second member, more especially if we include those with *tshe*. Since *tse/tshe* does not appear in names of women, it may mean 'son'; but then, unless we are assured that the name is Chinese, in which case the *-tse* is probably = Chinese *tzū*, 'son', a doubt may arise, since both 'Tokhari' and Saka-Khotani can furnish a *se, sa*, meaning 'son' and therewith a possible origin of the Kharoṣṭhī Prākṛit *-se, -seva* and *-sena*. Of the dissyllabic names such as *Ji-lim*, which have not a stereotyped second syllable, many could, no doubt, be detected by scholars as Chinese; and in some cases of flowery names of women, e.g. *Hua-sim*, 'Flower-mind', this may be conjectured even by an outsider. But it is likely that a proportion of the names may have belonged to 'natives' of various local races.

The old Tibetan names of pre-Buddhist type, whereof we have perhaps some thousand, are likewise mainly dissyllabic, such as *Klu-legs*, 'Dragon-good', *Dpal-bzañ*, 'Majesty-great' (or 'kind'), *Rgyal-gzigs*, 'Victory-look', *Myes-tshab*, 'Grandfather-substitute', *Stag-skyes*, 'Tiger-born' (or 'male'). The meaning is usually clear; but in some cases one or other of the components is of unascertained meaning, or there are mixtures comparable to Sanskrit *Aśvagupta*, Greek *Pheidippides*. The (prefixed) surnames may be gentile or tribal, as in the case of *Sroñ-btsan* Sgam-po's famous minister *Mgar* (or *Hgar*) 'stoñ-rtsan, or merely local, as in *Tshe-spoñ Tre-goñ*, or very widely territorial or national, e.g. *Rma-*, '(of) the Hoang-ho (river country),' *Khrom Ge-sar*, 'Ge-sar of Khrom', *Li-*, 'Khotani'.

When there is an official or similar title, e.g. *Blon*, 'Councillor', *Jo-co*, 'Chief', the surname is usually omitted.

In view of these usages, showing no trace of 'suffixes', the question of suffixes in the Shan-shan names becomes crucial. The difficulty is due in part to different ways of approach on the part of scholars, according as one regards the matter from the Indianist side, another from some other linguistic quarter. But the difference does not begin at once. Thus Professor Lüders considers (p. 33) that many final *a*'s after consonants in Shan-shan names are Indianizing additions; and here there will be general agreement, in principle, on the part of those who remember the Indian practice at all periods. *suruṅga* (Gk. *sūring-*), *Cīna* (*Tsin*), *tikīna* (*Türk tegin*), *Toramāna* (*Türmān*), *Mahāmada* (*Muhammad*), *Akabbara* (*Akbar*), *Mokṣamūlara* (*Max Müller*). But, when we come to cases with vowels, e.g. *-eya*, *iya*, *-ua*, on the Indian side, e.g. *Yaua(sa)* (*yabgu*), *Mahiphatiēna* (Instrumental of *Mahipati*), the Prākṛit view begins to posit a lost consonant and we may notice the actual occurrence of *yavuga*, which however, is ambiguous. Then, in the Kharoṣṭhī there are numerous words, whereof Professor Lüders has given long lists, in which *-aya* has become *-e* and *-iya* and *-ikā* *-i*; and this leads to the supposition that the longer forms, where found, are mere writings, the shorter forms being those actually spoken. In some particular instances an objection may be raised: thus *striya* does not seem to be, as suggested on p. 28, a mere writing of *stri*; its Genitive *striyae* shows that it is an *-ā* stem, parallel to *niśā*, *vācā*, *diśā*. *śriyā*, *māārā*, *gaūā*, and other feminines of the Prakṛit period.⁵⁴ That the forms in *-eya*, *-iya*, are merely writings is evident in various ways, from alternation and from Genitives such as *Sugeṣa*, *palpisa*; but Genitives and Instrumentals such as *Vuruṣa* (never *Vuruṣa*) from *Vuru*, *palpiyēna* (never *palpina*) from *palpi*, seem to show that after *u* and *i* the *a*-declension was convenient in those cases, as in the above-noted *yauasa* and *Mahiphatiēna*.

In the 1926 article also the *-e*, *-i*, *-o*, *-u*, were taken as the real terminations in the native names and *-a* also was widely admitted; it was assumed that their existence, if proved, was self-justificatory. But in nearly all cases they were regarded not as being in them-

⁵⁴ See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 413, and note that the Bhandarkar-Fleet explanation (*JRAS.* 1908, pp. 476-7) of *bhicā* in the expression *silāvigaḍabhicā*, occurring in the Rummindei inscription, as connected with Sanskrit *bhitti*, 'wall,' may after all be correct, if we derive *bhicā*, not from *bhittikā*, but from *bhittiyā*.

selves 'suffixes', but as belonging to suffixal syllables, e.g. *-ta*, *-te*, *-to*, with a preceding consonant. The existence of some such 'suffixes' may be taken as generally admitted, e.g. the *-(m)ca*, expressing plurality and the *-imci*, signifying connection with a place: the latter is perhaps so ancient that it may possibly be recognized in the name of the *Yüeh-chih*, i.e. the *Nwet* (Tangut) people.⁵⁵ Whether Professor Lüders would admit the existence of further 'suffixes' is perhaps not clear, his exposition being presented as selective, not as exhaustive; thus, in affirming the priority of *Cgito* to *Cigito* and *Lpipta* to *Lpipita* (p. 33) he does not raise the question whether the *-to* and *-ta* are, or are not 'suffixes'. That in any case they are separate elements is proved by the existence of evidently related names. *Cigana* and *Cgoya* in the one case, *Lpipaae*, *Lpipamga*, *Lpipana*, *Lpipama*, *Lpipa*, *Lpipga*. etc., in the other.

In regard, however, to such alternatives as *Sugi/Sugita*, *Kupşu/Kupşuta*, which sometimes, no doubt, as Professor Lüders

55 That *Tangut* was properly a place-name (like *Thogara*) appears from the well-known reference (see Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, pp. 123, 178 (86) by the Northern Turk *khagan* Bilgä to his invasion of it (*Tanüt*) during his 27th year (709-710 A.D.). The word cannot here refer to the Tibetans: during the period in question the Tibetans were in general accord with the Turks, and they were not in occupation of any part of Kan-su, their first attack upon Kwa-chou taking place in 727 A.D., when they hoped for Turk co-operation: moreover, the name of Tibet in the same inscription, is *Tüpüt* (see Index). It is credible that the Turks, who in the same passage mention the Sogdians under an ancient form (*Sogdak*) of their name, should have preserved the old Chinese form of the name *Ta-yüeh* (*-ci*), as known to the Hsiung-nu. The *Yüeh* (*Nwet*)-*ci* will have been the people of the *Yüeh* (*Nwet*) country (or region), which does not, however, preclude the possibility that the region derived its name from the, or a, tribe, the two notions being inseparable. The name *Yüeh* (*Nwet*)-*ci* may have been one not recognized by the people themselves, but given by their neighbours. A, perhaps not fatal, objection to the above conjecture must be seen in the fact that the *Yüeh*-*ci*, while still in Kan-su, do not appear to have been known to the Hsiung-nu as *Ta-yüehci*: see the communications to the Chinese translated in De Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, p. 76 (176 B.C.), and *Die Westland Chinas...*, p. 9 (c. 140 B.C.). Was that form used even by the Chinese prior to the foundation of the *Yüeh-chih* kingdom in Baktria?

points out, designate an identical person⁵⁶ it is clearly stated that the shorter forms are derived from the longer, *Sugit*, *Kupṣut* (the *-a* being understood as a Prākṛit addition), by disappearance of *-t*, which had been affirmed in some instances of Indian names, e.g. *Jiva-rakṣi*. But there does not seem to be ground for positing any loss of final consonants in the native language; and the history of personal names elsewhere does not confirm an explanation of the (supposed) shortening as of a phonetic character: it is not through a phonetic process that in English *William* and *James* become *Will*, *Willy*, *Willie*, *Jamie*. Also, as regards the supposed forms *Sugit*, *Kupṣut* without *-a*, it seems unfortunate that they should have no connection with such as *Lpipta*, where Professor Lüders does not discard the *-a*, and rather numerous others, e.g. *Kupṣimta*, *Kusamta*, *Lpimirta*, *Tsagirsta*, which seem to merit a like treatment.

Another matter which is explicit in Professor Lüders' exposition (p. 34) is insertion of inorganic vowels: thus not only is *Cigito* derived from *Cgito*, and not *vice versa*, as one would have been inclined to suppose,⁵⁷ but *Mañigeya*, *Kolpige*, (despite *Kolpiṣa*), *Kalpige* (despite *Kalpiṣa*), *Malpige*, *Paluge* (despite *Palvisae*, *Paluvisae*), *Camasu* (despite *Camaga*, *Camaka*, *Camasṛiae*, *Camimta*, *Camo*, etc.), are substitutes in writing for *Mañ-ge'*, *Kol-ge'*, *Kal-ge'*, *Mal-ge*, *Pal-ge'*, *Cam-su* respectively. In all these cases the real spoken form was dissyllabic.

In the 1926 article *-ta*, *-to*, *-ge*, and many other terminal syllables were regarded as 'suffixes'; and considerable lists of examples, which now, in consequence of the publication of Parts II and III of the edition, could be amplified,⁵⁸ were given under each head. The examples were roughly divided into 'Primary' and 'Secondary,' the latter being for the most part names of three or more syllables, frequently with the second syllable also recognizable as a 'suffix'; but

56 It cannot, however, be assumed in general that in cases such as *Ari Sugi* and *Ari Sugita* the identical surname suffices to prove identity of persons. Frequently a gentile surname restricts, or even dictates, the choice of personal names, and it is perhaps specially productive of similarities of name, such as between *Sugi* and *Sugita*, in the group.

57 The loss of vowels, as posited in the 1926 article (p. 55), might have been expected to commend itself to those who, with Professor Lüders (p. 27), regard *Butsena*, *Butsenga*, for instance, as really derived from *Budhasena* and *Budhasenika*, and not as Hobson-Jobsonisms.

58 Unfortunately the lists contain a considerable number of errors and could not be used without circumspection.

some instances where an original second syllable had lost its vowel, e.g. *Kamcge* from *Kamcage*, were reckoned as 'Secondary.' Of -ge 'Primary' over 20 examples were given, of -ge 'Secondary' about 15. By this procedure the root forms of the language are reduced to monosyllables, and it was concluded that the language was of the monosyllabic type. The conclusion is, indeed, not inevitable: in the English word 'denationalization' the removal of formatives leaves as the root basis only the syllable *na*, and even in that the -a may have been a 'determinative' (*gen-ā*); yet the early Indo-European was not monosyllabic. The clearness, however, with which the structure can be seen in the Shan-shan names seems to indicate a stage still monosyllabic or an early period of transition. The accumulation of formatives exemplified, e.g. by *Yipicga*, if = *Yi-pi-ca-gā*, and the exiguity of the 'root', *yi*, are no objection: such accumulation was regarded by B. H. Hodgson (*JASB.* XXII, 1850, pp. 132-5) as an essential characteristic of the large groups of Asiatic languages; cf. what is stated in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, I. i., pp. 36-7, concerning Muṇḍā languages. The slightness of the root, *yi* (or *i*), is, of course, paralleled by many Chinese words of substantial meaning and by not a few in Tibeto-Burman: in Tibetan, for instance, *yig*, 'writing,' 'letter,' was originally *yi-ge*, a form well known in texts.

A marked peculiarity of the Shan-shan suffixes is the vowel ablaut seen in -ta, -te, -to. From the lists some few examples may be quoted—

	a	e	o
'Primary':	<i>Apta</i> , <i>Yita(gá)</i> , etc.)	<i>Apte</i> , <i>Pite(ya)</i> :	<i>Apto</i> , <i>Pito(e)</i>
	<i>Spirta</i> ;		
'Secondary':	<i>Śirjhata</i> (from <i>Śirsa</i>);	<i>Śirsate(yae)</i> ;	<i>Coḥamto(ae)</i> (<i>Coḥa</i>
	<i>Lpimirta</i>	<i>Vugite</i> (cf.	<i>Vugato</i> (cf.
	(from <i>Lpimira</i>);	<i>Vugica</i>);	<i>Vugaca</i> , etc.)
	<i>Tamcgota</i>	<i>Bhurimte(ya)</i> ;	<i>Tsugamto</i> (cf.
	(from <i>Tamcgo</i>);		<i>Tsugeta</i> , etc.)

If this vowel-variation were confined to the *t*- 'suffixes', it might conceivably be regarded as accidental. But it recurs in other cases: we find—

<i>ka/ke/ko</i> :	<i>Carḥa</i> ; <i>Tsurke(ya)</i> ; <i>Carḥo</i> , etc.
	<i>Sugika</i> . <i>Ciyoka</i> , <i>Lpimirka</i> ; <i>Sugiko</i> , <i>Samgko(ya)</i> , etc.
<i>ga/ge/go</i> :	<i>Suga(e)</i> , <i>Yapga Lamga</i> ; <i>Apge</i> , <i>Yipge</i> , <i>Sugo(e)</i> ;
	<i>Yipgo</i> , <i>Lamgo</i> , etc.
	<i>Tamcga</i> , <i>Bhugelaga</i> ; <i>Tamcge</i> , <i>Catmage</i> , <i>Parsuge</i> ;
	<i>Tamcgo</i> , <i>Bhugelugo</i> , etc.

<i>ca/ce/co</i> :	<i>Pgeca, Piteca, Vugaca, Kapoca; Argice(ya);</i> <i>Pgoco, etc.</i>
<i>na/ne/no</i> :	<i>Pulna, Cipna; Sorṇne, etc.</i> <i>Pgena, Kacana, Lpimirṇa; Kacano, etc.</i>
<i>ma/me/mo</i> :	<i>Cama(śrṇ, etc.), Cima(ga); Kulme; Camo, Kulmo, etc.</i> <i>Cinama, Sugama; Sagamo, etc.</i>
<i>ra/re/ro</i> :	<i>Catara(ka); Catre, Rutre; Catro, Rutro, etc.</i> <i>Lpimira, Panagara; Caḡare. etc.</i>
<i>la/le/lo</i> :	<i>Yila(ga); Yile, Kole(ca); Kolo(e), etc.</i> <i>Aṃjila, Cimala, Bhugela(ga); Mogale(ya), Baḡule;</i> <i>Jivalo, Aṃjilo, etc.</i>
<i>sa/se/so</i> :	<i>Śirsa, Prēṣā(ṃdha); Prese, etc.</i> <i>Calmasa, Catisa, Kugeṣa, Priyosa, etc.</i>

It will perhaps be granted that in the 'Secondary' use the 'suffixes,' with their initial consonant, were in real, and indeed active, currency. In many 'primary' forms also, such as *Kapga, Tsurke, Cipna, Kulme, Catma, Catro, Śirsa*, where the preceding syllable ends in a consonant, a like assent may be anticipated. But in forms such as *Moga/Moge, Pite/Pito, Koñe, Kame, Camo, Kale, Puse*, it may seem not at all clear that the consonant does not belong to the 'root' syllable, in which case it would be necessary to admit 'suffixes' consisting of a vowel: and it may be further remarked that *-i* and *-u* forms of the 'suffixes', noted in the lists, e.g. *Kaki (Kaḡe), Aṃgi (Aṃgo), Aptagi, Cimi(da), Aṃti, Kori, Yili, Ralsi(ta), Parku(ta), Tagu, Pacgu, Lustu, Kapu(ṃca), Camsu, Lpimsu*, have been passed over.⁵⁹ Provisionally, however, this question is not particularly urgent: so long as a 'suffix'-variation *ma/me/mo* is a certainty, it is not necessary, until we are considering the origin of the vowel-variation in the 'suffix', to decide whether the same variation occurs in other situations also, *Cama, Came, Camo*, being from *Cam-a, Cam-e, Cam-o*. But it may be noted that in the current usage the vowel-variation must, by reason of its frequency, have been felt to have some significance: thus, since the Central-Asian languages were

59 The *-i* forms are inconvenient because of the possibility that some of them are Prākṛitiq; the *-u* forms are comparatively few. On the Tibeto-Burman side also there are uncertainties: it is not certain that the Locative suffixes—*ru* and *-su* in Tibetan are connected with *ra* and *sa* or that the *-gu* suffix is connected with *-ga*.

prone to use 'honorifics', *Cigito* may have been a more respectful form than *Cigita*.

The significant matter here is that the same vowel-variation, largely with the same suffixes, is found in Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman dialects of north-eastern 'Tibet'. In the conjugation of verb-roots ending in a consonant this ancient ablaut is exhibited in all manuals of Tibetan, e.g. *byed*, 'do', *byas*, 'done', *byos*, 'do', *hdren*, *trañ*, *droñs*, 'lead': but it often also occurs otherwise, giving alternative verb-roots shown in the lexicons, as *sñeg/sñog*, 'follow', *gcad/bcad/gcod*, 'cut', 'decide', *hgal*, 'disagree', 'err', *hgoł*, 'separate', 'stray', *gtod/gtad*, 'hand over', *sog/gsag*, 'collect', *sems/bsam*, 'think', (*som-ñi*, 'doubt'),⁶⁰ *sel/gsal*, 'make' or 'be clear'. The *a/o* ablaut is frequent in connection with verb-roots ending in the vowel *a*, not only in Imperatives, such as *ltos*, 'see', from *lta*, *zos*, 'eat', from *za*, but also in independent words, *ltos*, 'look', *zlo/bzla*, 'call', *zlos*, 'charm', 'spell', *chos*, 'religion', from *hchañ*, 'prepare', 'institute'. This *a/o* alternation is seen markedly in the two words *ra*, 'enclosed space', *sa*, 'land', 'spot', on their way to becoming 'suffixes': thus the *ra* of *ldum-ra*, 'garden', *btson-ra*, 'prison', becomes *ro* when denoting a large area, as in *Cog-ro*, 'the Cog country', *Myañ-ro*, 'the Myañ-country'; and *sa*, 'place', is so in *so-mtshams*, 'land-boundary', *ñan-so*, 'inferior position', *khab-so*, 'mansion', *gtad-so*, 'a refuge'. The very ancient suffix *ma*, found perhaps also in Burmese, competes with *mo* over a wide field of denotations in Adjectives, names of actions, agents, parts of the body, instruments, plants, nature-features (*ñi-ma*, 'sun', *skar-ma*, 'star', *ñin-mo*, 'day', etc., etc.). The pluralizing suffix *-cag* (probably from *-ca-ge*) in pronouns and elsewhere alternates with *-cog*.

There is a fair number of old Tibetan words in *-ga* (*cho-ga*, 'method,' etc.) and *-ka*, some in *-ge* (*yi-ge*, 'writing,' *señ-ge*, 'lion,' etc.); and the antiquity of *-ga/-ka* is shown by the fact that in VIIIth-IXth century MSS. connected with the Koko-nor region it is normal in relation to places, e.g. in *sa-ga*, 'belonging to earth,' *gnam-ka*, 'belonging to heaven,' *Tsoñ-ka*, later the birth-place of the famous Tsoñ-kha-pa, which suggests that some of the later words with *-kha*, like *sñiñ-kha* (and *ga*) once had the same. But the most interesting of such early 'suffixes,' of which there are in normal Tibetan a few examples, e.g. *rgyal-ta*, 'a fire,' *khwā-ta*, 'crow,' *žal-ta*, 'service,' is that with *t*, whence we have the three forms *ta/te/to*. *Ta* occurs

60 I.e. *som-gñis*, 'thoughts-two.'

in a few names of the period indicated, *Btshan-ta*, *Legs-koñ-ta*, *Legs-kri-ta*, where it is evidently equivalent to the *to* in certain contemporary names, *Btsan-to-re*, 'Puissant-is,' *Sgra-yas-to*, 'sound (voice? fame?)-unlimited.' But a much wider prospect is opened when we turn to an ancient Tibeto-Burman language of the Koko-nor region. Here the Tibetan noun-verb suffix *pa/ba* is wanting, and its place is taken by *-ta*, as in *chos-ta*, 'a beginning,' *bśi-ta*, 'a dead man,' *hśes-ta*, 'the knowing'; and we have such forms as *ño-sto* (= *nos-to*), 'friend,' and *to* commonly occurs as a verb-suffix at the end of a sentence, as in *stor-to*, 'were scattered.' The last-cited usage is evidently identical with the well-known Tibetan Preterite ending *to*, e.g. in *bstan-to*, 'showed'; and this enables us to see that the not less frequent *te*, e.g. in *hphom-te-drañ* 'are led conquered,' is identical with the common Tibetan Gerund-suffix *-te* (*de*, *ste*). Nor can the inherent meaning of the 'suffix' be hidden from us. *Ta* is simply the verb 'be'; and as an auxiliary it is still used in eastern and north-eastern 'Tibet,'⁶¹ where we have such forms of the Present Tense as *rig-ta*, '(I) see (it),' *rig-me-ta*, 'do not see it,' Rockhill, *Diary of a Journey*, p. 270. The *te*, *de*, of the Tibetan Gerund clearly is a form of the same verb, with the signification 'being'; and in the language above mentioned it is similarly used and also as a merely Adjective-forming suffix: the *to*-form is perhaps merely a more emphatic *ta*. *Btshan-ta* may thus be in relation to *Btshan-to* (*-re*, another 'is'-word, very common (*red*) in ordinary southern Tibetan) precisely what in Shan-shan *Cigita* was to *Cigito*.

As was noted in the 1926 article (p. 55, cf. p. 76) the vocalic variation must have had an origin or origins: but we can hardly expect to explain it or them, since the alternation seems to belong to the arcana of the Tibeto-Burma dialects of 'Tibet,' at any rate. Nor could we expect it to be manifested equally in all the different suffixes: we can only endeavour to define the actual usages where we find them, and even that can be done only vaguely. The *a/o* alternation we have found in normal Tibetan current—

- (1) in the very ancient *m*-suffix,
- (2) in the plural suffix *ca* (*g*), *co* (*g*),
- (3) in certain *-a* verb-roots, such as *za/zo*, 'eat,'

61 The same verb, *ta*, *to*, with the meaning 'be,' 'become,' is used also in several Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayan group; see *Linguistic Survey of India*, III.i, pp. 185, 192, 435, 445, 456, 463.

- (4) in certain nouns, e.g. *ra/ro*, 'bounded space,' *sa/so*, 'earth,' 'place,' 'station or grade.'

Here we do not seem able to adduce relevant forms with *-e* (*re(s)*, 'a turn,' and *re(d)*, 'be,' may not be connected with *ra*); but the *ga/ka* suffix has a few Tibetan parallels in *-ge*, and, since, as forming Adjectives, it is probably of pronominal origin, the *go/ko* of *ḥdi-ko*, 'this same,' *de-ko*, 'that very,' will be akin, more especially in view of *de-ka*, 'that very,' *gñis-ka*, *gñi-ga*, 'the two,' etc.—in the above-mentioned language of the north-east *ge* is a particle of enormous frequency, sometimes found conjoined with the *ta-* suffix in a way exemplified in the following passage—

ḥde-me-ḥtah-g-roñ-ḥyed-ge-ta-ḥwa-ste-ḥtah.

'the fires of prosperity, with cooling or dying emissions, are done for' (conjectural translation).

Here the first *ḥtah* is appended to the compound *ḥde-me*, 'prosperity-fire'; the second is attached to the attribute *g-roñ-ḥyed* with an intervening *ge*; the third acts as the verb 'are,' ending the sentence. In *ḥwa-ste* (i.e. *ḥwas-te*) we have an equivalent of the Tibetan Gerund *bas-te*, 'being done for.' The accumulation of forms of the *ta-* suffix has evidently a rhetorical effect. The combination *-ge-ta* is reminiscent of the Shan-shan name *Lalugeta*, in which both the *-ge* and the *-ta* are indubitably 'suffixes.'

This remarkable vowel-ablaut, common to the Shan-shan language and dialects of north-eastern Tibet and to a considerable extent found in connection with identical 'suffixes', seems to demonstrate some close morphological affinity. It suggests a search for lexical correspondences. Unfortunately the Proper Names, which constitute the bulk of the material, are the most unpromising field for any serious inquiry of that kind; and the other available expressions fail, as has been noted, to include any of the important objects of nature or notions of common life, all these being mentioned by Prākṛit terms. But certainly we have a few place-names ending in a *-sa*, which might be equivalent to Tibeto-Burman *sa*, 'earth', 'ground', 'place', 'residence', (e.g. in *Lha-sa*): *Samarsa* is definitely a place, and so, apparently, is *Bhagasa* in no. 608, as is also indicated by the derivatives *Bhagaṣaci* and *Bhagasemci*: the four forms *Koltarsa* and *°ṣa* (always a surname), *Cadiyaarsa*, *Manasarsa*, *Mantarsa*, should be analogous to *Samarsa*. Upon this basis it was suggested in the 1926 article (pp. 67-8) that a number of other forms in *-sa* (e.g. *Calmasa*, *Catisa*, *Huvisa*, *Palvisa* etc.), were really

residence-names applied to persons, a procedure familiar both in the east and in the west. In connection with the expression *Catisa deviyae* (nos. 46, 334) it has been suggested by Dr. Burrow (*JRAS.*, 1935, p. 672) that *-sa* tends to be a feminine suffix. He admits, however, that it is found in names of men; and in fact it is never found in women's names. This appears, in fact, in the very example *Catisa deviyae*, Genitive of *Catisa-deviya*; for the femininity is expressed by the word *deviya*, and this is seen in no. 295, *devi Catisae* (for *Catisaae*) where the order of the two terms is reversed, and the real feminine suffix, *-e*, appears: *Cadiṣaae* occurs in no. 606. The constant, almost invariable, spelling of *-isa*, *-isae*, names with *s*, not *ś*, seems to indicate that the *sa* was something more than a suffix.

That *-e* was the regular feminine termination⁶² and was appended to corresponding masculine names was shown in the 1926 article (pp. 52-3), where a good number of examples was cited, e.g. *Apisae* from *Apisa*, *Namilgae* from *Namilga*, *Sarvinae* from *Sarvina*, *Camotie* from *Camoti*, *Catoe* from *Cato*, *Sarvaśrīe* from *Sārvaśrī*. In no. 110 there is a list of 10 women, all with names ending in *-e*; and similarly in no. 552 a list of 8 women, apparently wives of the persons (none of the latter with such an *-e*) named along with them severally. The Genitive of this *-e* was *-ae*, as if from an *-ā* stem, and this Case-relation is clearly shown, for instance, in no. 719 where *Camṭaṃnoe* is the Nominative and the Genitive *Camṭaṃnoae* appears, as frequently, in connection with *naṃṃā* (English 'name of'): similarly in no. 53 *Camo(e)* appears in the superscription,⁶³ but *Camoae nama* in the text. Where the Nominative ends in *-ae*, the Genitive should be in *-aae*, as *Namilgae* (no. 288); but the awkwardness of the combination of vowels and the irregularities of the syntax have led to some confusions. In no. 399 two Nominatives in *-ae*, *Cataroyae* and *Pacguyae*, have Genitives in *-ṣa*.

In Tibeto-Burman languages it may not be possible to find an equivalent to this feminine *-e* 'suffix'. To judge from the above-

62 It is not contended that there were no feminine names without *-e*: Prākṛit forms in *-ā* might of course, be expected. As regards *Tilutamae/°uae* in no. 566 it seems that the *-e* was present in the Nominative; but *Konuma*, Genitive *Konumae*, is clear in no. 46, and *Sugnumae* is in no. 481 (thrice) a Genitive.

63 In the expression *Lpipe Camo Palvisae ca* the *-e* of *Palvisae* may have served also for *Camo(e)*.

described use of Tibetan (b)za and Chinese *niang* in feminine nomenclature, it should be an independent word, meaning 'woman' or 'daughter': there is, however, no basis for adducing Hsi-hsia *yi*, *i*, 'woman' (see Laufer in *T'oung-pao*, II. xvii (1916), pp. 64-5) or Burushaski -i, 'daughter' (Col. Lorimer's *The Burushaski Language*, III, p. 12). In the Shan-shan -e names it does not appear that the prior part was the name of the father: certainly it was not that of the mother. *A priori*, a 'family' or 'residence' name would seem likely. There does not seem to be any instance of -e appended to a female animal's name.

If there was, as has been here expounded, a living Tibeto-Burman factor in the Shan-shan language, it yet does not follow that the language was wholly of that character. Two features in the phonology of the names seem adverse to that supposition. The first of the two is the absence of the consonantal Prefixes of the Tibetan, some of which certainly existed, though much less developed, in the north-eastern (Ch'iang) dialects of the country: the therewith connected initial aspirates, *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph*, seem likewise little apparent. Secondly, the relative frequency of initial vowels and final breathed consonants in the names, and also elsewhere, e.g. in *Ap(ge)*, *Op(ge)*, *Ap(ta)*, *Cat(ma)*, *yat(ma)*, *ageta*, *Carto*, is *prima facie* adverse. Some historical considerations also perhaps interpose. The Chinese evidently distinguished the Lou-lan people from the Ch'iang despite the intercourse between the two: also the settled civilization, such as it was, of the western parts (Caḍota, etc.) of Shan-shan, if it was, as Grenard surmised, concerning Chinese Turkestan in general, of great antiquity, may have long preceded the special Ch'iang developments of Tibeto-Burman, which in Chinese records do not appear very early. Hence the Shan-shan language may have had a prior, non(or hardly)-Tibeto-Burman character. If with this in view, we should contemplate Professor Lüders' expression 'language of eastern Asia,' it would not be one of the great known languages or groups, Chinese, Turkish, Hun, Mongol, etc., that would come into consideration. These appeared too late in the vicinity of Chinese Turkestan. It would be little peoples of pre-Chinese Kan-su and and Shen-si, subsequently extinguished or Sinified, such as the 'northern Man' and the 'I,' still recognized by the Chinese of the 1st century A.D., and even later, as really existent and settled under Chinese control. This may be found, as some relatively recent observations

suggest, not to be in disaccord with what was suggested in 1921 (*JRAS.*, p. 279) and repeated in 1925 and 1926 as to possible connections with pre-Tibetan (sc. Mon/Man) speech in Western 'Tibet'.

On the basis of the name-forms it does not seem at present possible to distinguish between the Lou-lan population and that of the more westerly (Caḍota) region of Shan-shan. Even the names explicitly from the Khotan kingdom, still further west, viz. *Apge*, *Kanasaga*, *Moṣana*, *Preṣāṃdha*, *Śakḥaa*, to which might be added the probably place-surname *Kilpagi*, show no difference of type. But the question of the population of Khotan itself is in some points special and requires a separate consideration.*

* We regret that owing to the want of types with proper diacritical marks we have been constrained to use in the above article: d (or d) for d'; g for g', g'; h for h'; i for i'; p for p'; t for t'; v for v'; and y for y'; in roman where the original word containing the letter is printed in italics, and *vice versa*.—Editor.

Warucan=Šah

By Dr. W. B. Henning

The Manichaeans in Iran possessed a *Missionary History* of which we have fragments in three languages, in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian. A page of the Middle Persian version was published in 1933¹; it deals with the missions to the West (under Patecius and Addai) and to Khorasan, under Mār Ammō. More extensive is the Sogdian version, but nothing has been published so far; it is concerned mainly with the various missions to western countries (Patecius, Addai, Gabriab), but contains also the beginning of the Mission of Mār Ammō. Of the Parthian version only a few scraps have survived; two were made available by F. W. K. Mueller,² M 48 (dealing with the Tūrān-Šāh³) and M 566. Three further pieces which belonged to the same manuscript as M 48 and M 566, make up the fragment M 216; two of its pieces which contained a text parallel to the Middle Persian version, were published together with it⁴; the third which although terribly mutilated is perhaps the most interesting, is given here for the first time:

M 216 b⁵

Caption R]cy fryštgrwšn ... of the Apostle of Light
V fryštgrwšn [... the Apostle of Light

Recto

1	fry]štg p'dgyrb	[he saw] the figure of the Apostle
2	] 'wd prw'n qft	and fell on his face and became
3	['wd 'by']wš bwd u mrdwhm'n	unconscious. The people
4	]n bwd 'hynd oo 'dy'n	were[amazed]. Thereupon
5	pdw]h'd kw'm'n	[they] prayed: to us
6	]h oo oo	...
7	y]yšw'	Jesus ...
8	]m oo	we shall

1 *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* (abbrev. *Mir. Man.*), ii, 301-306.

2 *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 86-88.

3 See *ZDMG.*, 90, 7.

4 *Mir. Man.*, ii, 301-304.

5 [square brackets] indicate letters and words missing in the manuscript (restored by the editor).

Verso

9 <i>dyn'n 'mwg pđ wxyb[yh]</i>	...he overcame the teachings of the
10 <i>bzg 'ndrynj'd[oo oo]</i>	(other) religions by their own evil.
11 <i>hbz' wrwc'n š[h w'xt]</i>	HBZA, the Waručān-Š[āh said:
12 <i>kw 'ym kđ'm wy[w 'r 'st]</i>	what is all this talk about?
13 <i>o 'wd w'xtynd k[w]</i>	They said: it is ...
14 <i>'st byc [</i>	but ...
15 <i>hbz' p[</i>	HBZA ...
16 <i>'š[</i>	...
17 <i>h[</i>	...

Since this scrap was found in close proximity to the other two pieces registered as M 216, there can be no doubt that its contents refer either to the mission under Addai and Patecius, or the mission under Mār Ammō. The latter is more likely by far, in view of the absence of any mention of a Waručān-Šāh in any of the three descriptions of the western mission which are available. This opinion seems to be supported by a further fragment of the Parthian manuscript to which M 48, M 216, and M 566 belonged⁶. This is a double folio registered as T i α (=M 1306 in my numbering); one of its folios deals with the Tūrān-Šāh, the other is given here:

Recto

1 <i>[...]š hr[</i>	...
2 <i>gryd oo 'w[</i>	makes. To ...
3 <i>'st' w'd '[</i>	praised ...
4 <i>'wd 'w bg'rd[</i>	And Bag-Ard ...
5 <i>pwr's'd hym [</i>	I asked ...
6 <i>jyryft cy bg[</i>	the wisdom of Bag[-Ard?]
7 <i>dšn pdgryft '[</i>	I took her right hand
8 <i>'wd 'c prw'[n</i>	and [left] her presence.
9 <i>[p]š šwd 'hym [</i>	Thereafter I went to
10 <i>[š]hrys[t'n</i>	the city of ... ⁸

6 With the help of the originals it may be possible to produce complete pages of these and a few other fragments.

7 Or "the wisdom of the gods"?

8 A tantalizing lacuna!

Verso

11	]p .'.[	.....
12	r]ngs	shortly.....
13	]wd 'z 'w	And I [went] to.....
14	h]ym o br'dr'n	The brethren.....
15	]cg ⁹ cw'gwn dyd	when I saw.....
16	]g z'wr whywn 'w	the improvement ¹⁰ of strength
17	[šhr cy w]rwc šwd hym	I went to [the country of Wa]ruč
18	wy]šmn'd oo 'b'w	...was glad. Thereupon...
19	]wyšt'd hym o	I stood...
20	]'.n b[	.....

It seems necessary to have the name of a country or a town in line 17, and so it is natural to restore]rwc (in itself a common Parthian word, = "day") to [w]rwc = Waruč. We have now to consider the question: where lay the country of Waruč whose king was called Waručān-Šāh?

Mār Ammō's mission was directed principally to Abaršahr, i.e. Nišapur¹¹, from where he proceeded to Marv¹². The Sogdian version of the Missionary History describes his success in the following terms: "And.....Abaršahr and Marv ('brš'r ZY mr [γ]).....he did manifold...for the profit of the religion. He ordained numerous kings and rulers, grandees and noblemen, queens and ladies, princes and princesses. He fully exposed the Buddhahship of the Prophet of Light (i.e. Mani). He completed and fulfilled all orders and injunctions that [had been given] him by [Mani]". These sentences which are omitted in the Middle Persian version, conclude the surviving portion of the Sogdian story, except for an anticipatory caption over the last page: mr'mw c'nikw kwš'my pyr [= "How Mār Ammō [came to] the frontier post of Kushan". On the other hand, Mār Ammō's adventures at the "frontier post of Kushan", where he met a somewhat unsympathetic spirit¹³ whose name was Bag-Ard¹⁴,

9 Possibly pd]yeg.

10 Abstract noun (ending -wn as in Sogdian) from why "better."

11 *Mir.Man.*, ii, 303; *ZDMG.*, 90, 8.

12 His journey to Zamb on the Oxus (*Mir.Man.*, iii, 858; *ZDMG.*, 90, 8) took place much later, after Mani's death. It has no immediate connection with the events described in the Missionary History.

13 The common MPers. word for "spirit, ghost" (*wāxš*) has been confused with the name of the Oxus (*wāxš*) by Schaeder, *Iranica*, 76.

14 On this name see now H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, 67 sqq. It could also be read as *Bagārd*. It is not impossible

are detailed in the Middle Persian version which in its turn breaks off in the middle of the story.

The two Parthian fragments published here continue the story. M 1306 comes first: Mār Ammō succeeds in reconciling the spirit Bag-Ard who at first was refusing him admittance into the countries whose frontier she guarded, i.e. the Kushan country, the western part of which was at that time (about 265-270 A.D.) a dependency of the Sassanian state. Or more prosaically expressed: Mār Ammō, after some difficulties, succeeded in entering the Kushan country. After passing the frontier, he went to the city of X. (name lost in the manuscript) where he organised a Manichaean community. When it was well established (lines 14-16), he proceeded to the country of Waruč. The story is taken up by M 216 b now: with the help of miracles etc. Mār Ammō becomes the talk of the country, and in the end the attention of HBZ' (*Havazā*?), the Waručān-Šāh, is drawn to his activities.

Unfortunately we do not know for certain where the "frontier post of Kushan" (i.e. the frontier between Khorasan and the then Persian dependency of Kushan) was situated in the third century¹⁵. But we may conjecture that it lay in the same district where in the succeeding centuries the frontier between the Sassanian state and the Kushan/Hephthalite country was established, namely (according to Marquart) at Tālaqān, halfway between Marv-i-Rōd and Pāryāb (Daulet-ābād). It would thus appear probable that the country of Waruč lay in or close to Gōzgānān and Gharčistān, or at any rate to the south-west of Balkh. It is interesting to notice that a town of that region, Žimat, is mentioned in a Manichaean Sogdian text, in connexion with the Kushano-Sogdian goddess Nana¹⁶; that the name of the town βαγα'ρδα (Ptolemy, 6,8,15) is connected; Darmesteter compared it with Avestan *Vaēkarata*.

15 Cf. Schaefer, *Iranica*, 75.

16 See my article in the forthcoming number of the *JRAS.*, 1944, part 3. It is, however, doubtful that the name in the tax-list Ibn Khurdadbih, 37,9, represents Žimat as claimed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr* 227. As it occurs after Wāšgird Marquart was forced to the assumption that the original order of the list had been disturbed; this can no longer be maintained if Minorsky is right in placing 'Andamīn (?) in the Lesser Pamir (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 332 sq.). But possibly the name of Žimat can be recognized in the mysterious زیمد *ws'darh*, Ibn Khurdadbih 36,17, of which the second part undoubtedly represents *جزه* *izh* = *Ĵazza*, *Gaza*, *Gčak* (not noticed by Marquart, 218, but cf. p. 86), while the former could be restored as زیمد *zymd* = *Zimad*.

this town lay, according to Hüan-ts'ang, "south-west from Balkh in a corner of the Snowy Mountains."

Let us now consider what evidence we can glean from non-Manichæan sources. Most important perhaps is the reference to a Waručān-Šāh (*wlwc'n MLK'*) in the Great Inscription of Shapur I (end of line 29) which was set up in A.D. 262 (according to my calculations)¹⁷, about the time when Mār Ammō set out on his journey to the Eastern countries. He is mentioned close to the beginning of the long list of dignitaries who contributed to the success of Shapur's reign¹⁸, after the king of Mosul (Norširakan), the king of Kerman, and the Queen of Mesene, but his name cannot be read with certainty: *dstklt *šhpwhry 'mčspy* (?); possibly *Amačasp* was his personal name, and *Dastkert-Šāhpuhr* an additional honorific name given to him by Shapur¹⁹. This Amačasp may have been the predecessor of Havazā whom Mār Ammō met (assuming that HBZ' was a personal name and not a title). It is true that the inscription gives no clue to the location of the Waručān-Šāh²⁰; but it indicates that this prince ruled over a country somewhere at the confines of Iran, and that in the third century he was a vassal of some importance. We may also recognize the title of Waručān-Šāh in the *رجان شاه* *Brj'n-s'h* (*Baručān-Šāh*) who in the list of "the kings whom Ardashir called *šāh*" (Ibn Khurdadbih, 17, 7) is named after the *Kādiš-Šāh*, the ruler of Herat (or districts near Herat)²¹.

According to the strict rules of the Armenian language, *Waručān* would appear as *Varčān* in Armenian. Such a name does indeed occur in the *Armenian Geography*, in the list of the provinces of the East²². There we find the following enumeration: *Peroz-naxčir*, *Dzin-Avazak* (var. *dzinuazak*, *dzinažak*), *Varčān* (var. *Varjan*), *Manšan*, *Gčak*, *Asan*, *Bahli-bamik*. The name of *Peroz-naxčir* survives in present-day *Pir-Naxčir* (24 kilometres south of Taškur-

17 See *BSOS.*, ix, 845.

18 In an article contributed to the *Jackson Memorial Volume* I have given a full analysis of the passage. It was sent to Bombay early in 1939, but has not so far been published.

19 Although such a name would appear suitable to a castle rather than to a prince.

20 As a matter of curiosity we may mention that Sprengling apparently took Waručān for Baloches (*AJSLL.*, liii, 1937, p. 142).

21 Differently Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 31.

22 Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 9.

gan, 12 km. west of Hazret-Sultan²³). *Manšan* (*Mānišān*) represents the Māk valley according to Professor Minorsky²⁴), *Gčak* lay due south of Balkh, *Asan* in the south-eastern corner of Gözgānān, while *Dzin-Avazak* or *Dzi-Navazak* is said to be a name imported from mythology²⁵). The sequence of names proves, I think, that *Varčān*, too, should be looked for to the south or south-west of Balkh²⁶), precisely in that region over part of which the Waručān-Sāh held sway.

To sum up: in the third century there was a country called Waruč or Waručān which lay in the Kushan country just beyond the traditional border of Persia. but had been incorporated in the Sassanian state under Ardashir or (more likely) Shapur I. It adjoined the country of the Kadishaeans and the valleys formed by the affluents of the Upper Murghāb. Its king was influential enough to be mentioned alongside the rulers of such important provinces as Mosul, Kerman, and Mesene. But in later times its name seems to have disappeared from history. There can be little doubt that the country of Waruč is the same as that known in later centuries as Gharch or Gharchistān, while the possibility that *yarč* is merely a later form²⁷ of the word *waruč* cannot be ruled out.

23 Cf. also Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 81 sq.

24 *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 334

25 Thus Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 82 sq; *Wehrot*, 143 sqq; *Catalogue*, 34 sqq. But cf. Minorsky, *loc. cit.*, 185 sq. Possibly originally *Diz-i (H) avazā* "the castle of HBZ," corrupted under the influence of *Diz-i Āvāze*?

26 Marquart thought of Warwāliz (Qunduz).

27 In disyllables with two brief vowels and not more than three consonants the second vowel is liable to elision in several Iranian languages, especially if the middle consonant is a continuant, cf. e.g. Persian *lang* "lame" from *lamak*, *pahn* from *paḥan*; Middle Persian *bašn* "temple" from *bašin*; Parthian *bašn* "part, limb" from *bašin*; Parachi *pač* "before" from *patiš*. Thus *waruč* provided the -u- was brief, could become *warč*. Initial *w-* becomes *γ-* (*gh-*) regularly in Parachi, a dialect to which the old language of Gharchistan was presumably closely related. This change occurs sporadically also in other dialects, see Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, I. 9.

Virampatnam

By R. E. M. Wheeler

Virampatnam lies on the east coast two miles south of Pondicherry, in French India. At first sight, this peaceful village of fisherfolk is scarcely an appropriate vehicle for the commemoration of one who shared the dust of the Gobi wilderness with the shade of Hiuen Tsang and, like Alexander, scaled the peak of Aornos. But in its own degree the exploration of Virampatnam is likely to open, or at least to chart, some part of an obscure field of knowledge, and so may claim a faint affinity with the more adventurous pioneering of him to whose memory the present compilation is dedicated.

The obscure field of knowledge referred to is the earlier archæology of southern India. Few parts of Asia can be richer in remains of prehistoric and early historic cultures than is the great expanse of Archaean rocks which extends southwards of a line from Goa to the lower Ganges and bears, *inter alia*, most of the megaliths and urn-fields of India. Few regions so populous and accessible have at the same time been submitted to so little scientific exploration. It is high time that Indian archaeology took up the task with method and determination, and the environs of the village which gives its name to this note offer a tempting opportunity.

Half a mile behind the village, and sheltered now from the sea by dunes and palm-trees, the site of an ancient town is being gradually swept away by the Ariyankuppam at a point where the river swings northwards to its estuary. Brick foundations are being carved out of its eastern bank, and sherds and other débris litter the adjacent land-surface. As far back as the 18th century, Le Gentil mentions these or similar remains, and records a Tamil tradition that the site was that of the fort of Raja Vira-Raguen and the ancient town of Virampatnam.¹ Thereafter it was not until 1929 that the place began to attract the attention of the antiquary. In that year the Rev. Brother R. F. Fauchaux, of the Petit Séminaire at Pondicherry, and Mons. N. Lafitte, then Chef du Service de la Pharmacie, collected semi-precious stones, glass and other objects from the surface. The villagers followed suit, and found amongst other things an intaglio representing the head of Augustus. This was bought

¹ *Voyage dans les mers des Indes à l'occasion du passage de Vénus sur le disque du Solin* (Paris, 1779-81), I, 542-5.

by Mons. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and was subsequently removed with other relics to the Musée de l' École Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi, Indo-China. Meanwhile, Mons. Jouveau-Dubreuil invited Dr. A. Aiyappan² and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri³ from Madras to visit the site, and limited excavations were carried out in 1941-2 under the supervision of Brother Fauchaux and Mr. P.Z. Pattabiraman.

In these excavations, the levels at which objects were found were noted with considerable care with reference to an arbitrary datum-line (mean sea level), and this record, as written on certain of the actual objects, is of provisional use in grouping them roughly in bulk. The facts appear to be as follows:—

(i) Beneath two strata of brick structures of uncertain plan and date, and at a depth of nearly two feet below mean sea level and some twenty feet below the average ground level, is a stratum containing imported Roman pottery, notably amphorae and red-glazed Arretine ware, the latter datable to circa A.D. 1-50.⁴ Other Roman wares and romanising local pottery occur at the same depth, together with purely local products occasionally stamped with the Naga and other symbols. A few sherds bear graffiti in a Brahmi script which has been ascribed by Dr. B. C. Chhabra, of the Archaeological Survey of India, on epigraphical grounds to 200 B.C.-A.D. 200. The graffiti are mostly fragmentary and are difficult to interpret, but deserve further study. Save perhaps in two instances, the language is Monumental Prakrit.

(ii) From the same level, and possibly others also, has been derived an extensive series of beads made from quartz, amethyst, topaz, agate, jasper, carnelian, and glass, together with unworked and partially worked stones. The site was very clearly a focus for the semi-precious stone trade and related industries. One type of bead in particular is significant: the so-called "collared barrel" which is distributed

² Dr. Aiyappan subsequently contributed an article on the site to the *Hindu* newspaper, Weekly Magazine Section, Madras, 23rd March, 1941.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "An inscribed potsherd from Arikamedu," *Journal of the Madras University*, XIV, No. 1. The name "Arikamedu" is that given to the site by some of the local villagers, but otherwise has no known authority.

⁴ The Arretine ware includes Ritterling type 5 and Dragendorff types 16, 17 and possibly 11. There are also hard buff imitations, evidently imported, of Dragendorff type 24/25.

widely in India and is found also in the eastern Mediterranean area.⁵ At Taxila in the Punjab the type occurs in deposits dating from the third century B. C. to the first century A. D., and it is found on Andhra sites in Hyderabad State (see below),

(iii) The discovery of an untrimmed quartz intaglio representing Cupid and a bird suggests that Mediterranean gem-cutters were employed on the site.

Briefly, even on the fragmentary evidence at present available the site qualifies sufficiently for the status of *emporium* which Ptolemy in fact accords to it if we accept its identity with his *Podouke emporion* (VII, 1, 14).⁶

In a preliminary note written before the excavations of 1941 and before the finding of the Arretine pottery, Mons. Jouveau-Dubreuil had already hailed the discovery or re-discovery of the site in no uncertain fashion. "Nous avons là une véritable ville romaine", he exclaimed. "Ce site n'est pas d'intérêt local ni même d'Inde et même de l'Asie; nous avons là des ruines romaines. Et l'étude de ce site inscrirait une nouvelle page dans l'histoire romaine".⁷ A colder and more calculated appreciation of the possibilities might have substituted "footnote" for "page"; the page had in fact already been written by the numerous classical historians and topographers who refer to Romano-Indian trade and markets, and by modern writers who have catalogued Roman coins found in India.⁸ But it is neither as a new page nor even as a new footnote to Roman history that I now signalize the importance of Virampatnam. It is rather as the preface to a new text-book of southern Indian archaeology. Let me amplify this.

The Arretine ware, now recognized for the first time in India, has given a fresh precision to the dating of the earlier part of the site. It is clear that the stratum from which the sherds and at any

5 See H. C. Beck, "Classification and nomenclature of beads and pendants", *Archaeologia*, LXXVII (London, 1927); and "The beads from Taxila," *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 65 (Delhi, 1941).

6 E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 62; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, XL. (1941), 449. Discussion of this identification cannot be carried further without fresh evidence.

7 *Bulletin*, p. 450.

8 A fresh recension of the evidence for Roman coins in India has been prepared by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan of Madras, and will be published by the Government Museum, Madras.

rate some of the beads came was accumulating not later than A.D. 50, and may be upwards of half a century earlier. The complex of bead-forms and stones is distinctive, and it is not peculiar to Virampatnam. An identical assemblage occurs on two sites in the State of Hyderabad; namely Kondapur, 40 miles west-north-west of Hyderabad, and Maski, 150 miles south-west of the city. At these sites preliminary excavations have been carried out by the State Department of Archaeology, and a layer dated by local coins to the Andhra period (late B. C. to A. D. 250) has been identified in association with a bead-industry, including the collared barrel type, similar to that of Virampatnam. In this layer at Kondapur occurs also a curious series of clay *bullae*, copied from early Roman imperial coins, sometimes with garbled inscription,⁹ and one actual coin, said to be of Augustus, has been found elsewhere on the site. It may be added that in the whole of Hyderabad State only one other Roman coin-find is recorded. Consistently with this scarcity of intrusive coinage, the pottery, at any rate at Kondapur where I have seen a considerable quantity, is devoid of Roman admixture.

The picture, if we may paint one with so limited a palette, is thus an intelligible one. In the interior of the country we have in the first century B.C. and the first and second centuries A.D. a powerful Indian kingdom, that of the Andhras, stretching across the northern Deccan and jealously controlling a number of gem-stone sources. On the coast are the emporia for foreign trade, some of them with a nucleus of Mediterranean settlers.¹⁰ Souvenirs of the foreigner find their way occasionally into the interior, but the only real cultural link between the kingdom and the foreign element in the coastal markets is the pervading craft of the gem-stone cutter. Archaeologically, the type-fossil of the period is the bead, and it is on a careful study of bead-forms that South Indian archaeology of this phase is most likely to make its first advances.

South of the Andhras the position in the first two centuries A.D. appears to have been more fluid. On the east the Colas, on the west the Ceras, and at the southern end the Pāṇḍyas were jockeying

9 I am informed by Mr. Ajit Mookerjee that similar sub-Roman *bullae* of clay and bronze have been found on an ancient urban site between Dhauli hill and Bhubaneswar in Orissa. Mr. Mookerjee identifies this site with the Mauryan city of Tosala or Tosali.

10 In addition to Virampatnam, reference may be made to the Temple of Augustus which the Peutinger Table locates at Muziris, commonly identified with Cranganore on the coast of Cochin.

for position, with the Colas (in whose territory Virampatnam may be included) vaguely in the lead. The absence of strong centralised control in this region appears to have opened the way to a more intensive penetration of Roman prospectors or at any rate of Roman currency, for Roman coins are here found freely in the interior (e.g. in the Coimbatore district) as well as along the coast.

Such briefly would appear to be the general situation from the point of view of the student of the Roman exploitation of *India gemmifer*. But, as I have already implied, the importance to us of this commerce in stones lies less in the impact of Roman enterprise than in the impact of Roman chronology. The possibilities of this new factor cannot yet be foretold. At Virampatnam itself an extensive Indian culture found in contact with the imported goods awaits checking and analysis, and will thereafter be the first early South Indian culture for which a close dating is feasible. At the same time, further afield there are other possibilities. Both at Maski and at Kondapur a few sherds of a very distinctive and widespread ware have been found, as I am told, in the Andhra level. This ware is of a rich russet colour with simple parallel lines or waves in a thin yellow slip under a glossy surface. I am credibly informed that this ware has also been unearthed as a primary deposit in a sealed large-cist grave (or dolmen buried below the surface) in Cochin, and I have picked it up on ancient town or village mounds at Vellalur and at Nathamedu near Bogampatti, in the Coimbatore district.¹¹ Whether it actually occurs at Virampatnam remains to be seen; but the evidence appear to indicate that it was widely current round about the beginning of the present era, and that, incidentally, a dominant type of megalithic tomb was in use at the same time. If this be so—and much further evidence is required—we shall for the first time have a firm base for the study of Indian megaliths.

I would again, however, emphasise that these preliminary notes merely indicate lines of research and do not profess to map assured discovery. For that, much hard work of a pioneer kind is still required, and will shortly be initiated.

¹¹ A hoard of "silver Roman coins" is recorded to have been found at Vellalur. Nathamedu is a new discovery, 1944; a low hill upwards of 1000 yards in diameter is thickly littered with potsherds and iron slag.

Some References to Kaṭāha Dvīpa in Ancient Indian Literature

By Dr. V. S. Agrawala

Kaṭāha Dvīpa is mentioned several times in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature as a place situated beyond the sea and reached by ships leaving the sea-port of Tāmraliptī. In Prākṛit its name occurs as Kaḍāhadīpa. In the inscriptions of Rājārāja Cola and Rājendra Cola giving an account of their naval conquests, the name of Kaḍāram occurs as one of the several places of the East Indian Archipelago. Both Kaḍāram and Kaṭāha have been identified with Keḍah in the North West of the Malaya peninsula.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* several stories refer to sea-voyages undertaken to Suvarṇadvīpa and Kaṭāhadvīpa for purposes of trade. The parable of the *Agurudāhī* trader¹ says that a foolish merchant took a ship-load of black *aguru* wood as merchandise to be sold in the Kaṭāhadvīpa. The people of the land did not know the stuff, and thus not being able to sell it the merchant converted it into charcoal. Bragging of his cleverness in thus earning money, the fellow only exposed his folly.

In another Prakrit work, the *Samarāiccaḥā* by Haribhadra Sūri, written about the middle of the 8th century, there are two stories relating to Kaṭāhadvīpa. In one of them² the sea journey is described in detail. A rich merchant named Dhana, living inland, first went to Tāmraliptī, but did not make sufficient money from the disposal of his ware. This strengthened his resolution to earn increased profit by going in for maritime commerce. It is stated that sea-faring merchants in those days were earning much more profit than inland traders. The merchant then equipped a ship with such goods as were being exported from India to the Eastern Islands and set sail with a faithful servant and his wife who proved herself faithless. As a result of her giving poisoned food, the merchant got ill, but continued the journey, till at last the boat reached the shore of Mahā-Kaṭāha-Dvīpa. Fearing mishap to his own life, he put his servant Nandaka in charge of the goods; the servant went ashore with presents to the king of the place who allotted him a place of residence. Arranging for medical relief to his master, but seeing no improvement of his condition, Nandaka hurriedly disposed of the goods and purchasing other importable goods started on the return journey to the mother country. On the way the ailing

1 *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 60. 2-6.

2 *Samarāiccaḥā*, ed. Jacobi, pp. 195-206.

husband was pushed into the sea by the treacherous wife. After instituting a fruitless search for the merchant, Nandaka perforce continued his homeward journey. Fortunately the merchant caught hold of a floating plank from a previous ship-wreck and after struggling in water for several days was stranded ashore.

Another story in the same book³ also refers to a sea voyage on business errand from Tāmraliptī to Kaṭāhadvīpa. Aruṇadeva, the merchant prince of Tāmraliptī started on a ship loaded with merchandise from that sea-port and sailed for Kaṭāhadvīpa. Unfortunately his ship was caught in a storm and lost. But the merchant got support on a loose plank and was able to reach the shore.

In the *Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī*⁴ of the poet Kṣemendra the story of the virtuous lady Devasmitā refers to Kaṭākṣadvīpa, which is no doubt the same as the Kaṭāhadvīpa of other works. Dhanagupta is a merchant of Tāmraliptā. He once went with his son on a sea voyage to the Barbara country and there besought the hand of a beautiful maiden for his son. Although her father did not agree, she herself became enamoured of the merchant's son and came with them. Their marriage was celebrated on their return to Tāmraliptā. After his father's death Guhaṣena embarked from the port of Tāmraliptā on a sea-voyage for the increase of wealth. Before starting he obtained from Śiva a pair of lotus flowers one of which he gave to his wife, while he kept the other with himself. The flower would keep its freshness so long as the couple remained steadfast in their virtue. Leaving his faithful wife behind, he after many days reached the Kaṭākṣadvīpa. There in an assembly of friends he spoke of his wife and the lotus flower. Four of them thought of testing her virtue and came to Tāmraliptā. Each made his advance to Devasmitā, but was worsted in wit and disgraced. The virtuous lady then fearing harm to her husband from them left for Kaṭākṣadvīpa in the guise of a merchant. Arriving at the place, she appraised the king of the whole affair. The king thereupon captured the miscreants and united her to her husband. The couple returned to Tāmraliptā bringing with them great treasure.

These stories incorporated in the Kathā literature of the mediaeval period (8th to 11th centuries A.D.) show the popularity of the name Kaṭāha-dvīpa which appears to have frequently come to the minds of the story-writers as part of the *motif* of naval voyages undertaken by adventurous merchants during the flourishing period of India's international commerce.

3 Ibid p. 585

4 II 183, p. 60

Editorial Notes

In October 1944 the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society unanimously elected Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., D.Litt., Bar-at-Law, M.L.A. as its President in place of the late lamented Sir P. C. Ray. The Managing Committee of the Society is grateful to Dr. Mookerjee for kindly accepting the appointment with effect from the same month. The Committee takes this opportunity to welcome Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, D. Litt., Director-General of Archaeology who has been elected as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The first Deccan History Conference is due to be held at Hyderabad, (Dn.) on the successive days, 10th to 12th April 1945. The Conference will have as its General President Mr. W. V. Grigson, Revenue Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. There will also be three sections, the Ancient, the Mediaeval and the Modern, of which Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Professor Haroun Khan Sherwani and Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasa-chari will act as respective Presidents. The Greater India Society has sent its best wishes to the authorities of the Conference for the success which they so richly deserve.

The Greater India Society welcomes the advent of the Archaeological Society of South India under the distinguished patronage of the Vice-Chancellor, Madras University. The Society has made a promising beginning by publishing as its first Memoir the monograph "*Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa*" written by the well-known Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Madras Government Museum, Mr. C. Sivaramamurti. We shall be glad to notice this book in the next number of this Journal.

Owing to limitations of space imposed by the existing rules, the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society regrets that the sections on book-reviews and select contents of Oriental Journals have to be unavoidably held over till the next number of this Journal. The Committee equally regrets the delay in the appearance of this number of the Journal due to the present abnormal situation.

Obituary Notice.

The late Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc.

In the last number of this Journal we had the melancholy duty of mourning the death of the late President of the Greater India Society, Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, who has been rightly acclaimed as one of the greatest Indians of his generation, eminent as a teacher and scholar, as an inspirer of industrial advance in this country, as a philanthropist, and as a man of sterling character. In the present number we give a short sketch of his remarkable career which, it is not too much to say, will serve as a beacon of inspiration to untold generations of his countrymen.

Born on August 2, 1861 in a family of moderate means in an obscure village in the Khulna district of Bengal, Prafulla Chandra Ray was educated successively at the Hare and Albert schools and the Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta. Winning the Gilchrist scholarship of his year, he joined the University of Edinburgh in 1882. There he stayed till 1888 when he obtained the D.Sc. degree of that University on a thesis in Inorganic Chemistry. Returning to India, he was appointed Assistant Professor of Chemistry at the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1889, and he continued his connection with that college till his retirement in 1916. During these years of strenuous service he not only established his reputation as a very successful teacher of his subject, but also published a large number of original papers, and above all, helped to build an Indian school of chemists which has since won international recognition. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that along with his colleague in the branch of Physics, the late Sir J. C. Bose, he helped to win a place for his countrymen in the estimation of the world of science in modern times. To the same active period of his life belongs the publication of his great work entitled *History of Hindu Chemistry* in two volumes (1902, 1908), which was immediately hailed by discerning critics as a contribution of first-rate importance to the history of chemical science. During the same years he took an active part in founding the *Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd.*, which under his fostering care rapidly developed into one of the largest manufacturers of indigenous drugs on this side of India. It is melancholy to reflect that with all his qualifications, he failed to be admitted into the permanent cadre of the Indian Educational Service, though his eminence was recognised by the award of the high distinction of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire in 1911.

Retiring from Government service, he was immediately appointed at the instance of that great educationist, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the first Palit Professor of Chemistry at the University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta. This post he held with high credit till 1936 when he retired for reasons of health. In the congenial atmosphere of the University he was able to increase his research activities still further. What is more, he benefited the University immensely by his princely donations, derived from savings from his salary, in the cause of the science which he loved so well. Out of these endowments, the University has been able to found two Sir P. C. Ray Research Fellowships in Chemistry, the Nagarjuna Research Prize in Chemistry, and the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Research Prize in Zoology and Botany. His invaluable services to the University were fittingly recognised by his appointment as Emeritus Professor after his retirement, a position which he held till his death.

In this last period of his career Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray—he was knighted just after the last Great War—earned the heartfelt love and gratitude of his countrymen by actively encouraging numerous industrial undertakings started by educated Bengali youngmen, and still more, by his untiring efforts to relieve the misery of the people on the occasions of awful visitations of nature, like the Khulna famine of 1921 and the North Bengal Flood of 1922.

Schooling himself from the first to a life of almost ascetic simplicity—he remained a bachelor all his life—Prafulla Chandra gave away his surplus income in minor charities too numerous to mention. The Greater India Society which was fortunate enough to have him as its President for a number of years, profited not only by his sage advice, but also by his generous patronage.

A man of fine literary taste, the late Sir P. C. Ray delighted in the study of Shakespeare, Emerson and Carlyle, as also of Rabindranath Tagore. His fascinating autobiography, written in his characteristic terse idiomatic style, which was called *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist*, was published in two volumes (1932, 1935).

In his last years Sir P. C. Ray suffered from an almost complete breakdown of his health, but he retained his interest in all progressive movements of his countrymen, passing away peacefully in his room at the University College of Science—his home for the last thirty years of his life—on June 16, 1944.

May his soul rest in peace!



